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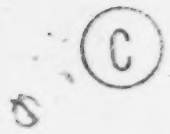
Dressmaking Occupations in Edmonton, 1900-1930

by

Dianne R. Smith



A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF Master of Science

IN

Clothing and Textiles

Faculty of Home Economics

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

Spring 1987

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled Dressmaking Occupations in Edmonton, 1900-1930 submitted by Dianne R. Smith in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Clothing and Textiles.

Anne M. Lamb
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Date: April 21/87

Abstract

Dressmaking Occupations in Edmonton, 1900-1930

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Clothing and Textiles

Professor: Anne M. Lambert

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Studies of Canadian women's history list dressmaking among the occupations available to and practiced by women during the period 1900 to 1930. Compared with the formally organized feminine occupations such as domestic service, teaching, clerical work and nursing, seamsterring, dressmaking and tailoring provided flexible employment. During periods of economic instability women were likely to utilize skills such as a sewing skill in a range of employment within both the formal and informal economy. The use of sewing skills in Edmonton during the first decades of the twentieth century encompassed all of these employment possibilities.

In order to research the full range of employment utilizing sewing skills a number of sources were used. In addition to the *Census of Canada* and *Henderson's Business Directory*, newspaper advertisements and oral history were the primary sources used. The *Edmonton Telephone Directory*, archival records and artifact collections were supplementary sources.

A content analysis of a sample of newspaper advertisements from the *Edmonton Journal*, the *Edmonton Bulletin*, and the *Strathcona Plaindealer* was undertaken. The researcher examined the following features of newspaper advertisements as they appeared over time: the sex and marital status of the advertiser, the type of sewing advertised, the skill level advertised, the type of work situation advertised, the detail of location information given, the type of garment advertised, employees advertised, and other services advertised in conjunction with sewing services. Content analysis provided an objective, systematic method of obtaining both quantitative and qualitative information from newspaper advertisements.

A content analysis of newspaper advertisements suggests that a greater number of women utilized their sewing skills in informal and formal economic activity during periods, such as the years of First World War and the early 1920s, when the economy of Edmonton and the prairie provinces was particularly unstable. Dressmaking and seamsterring were almost entirely women's occupations engaged in most often on a temporary basis and within a flexible but insecure work situation. Tailoring of women's clothing was practiced by both women and men. Tailoring gradually became an occupation dominated by males with eventually fewer women employed by tailoring businesses and few, if any, females being trained in tailoring. The simplification of clothing, the success of the ready-to-wear industry and the gradual widening of the employment market for women led to an overall decline in the employment level and the skill level of tailoresses, dressmakers and seamstresses. By the later years of the period studied fewer women were engaged in any type of sewing activity related to a custom dress product. More dressmakers worked on the alteration of ready-to-wear garments and some changed their emphasis to dressmaking lessons and services for the home sewer.

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1. Statement of the Problem

1.1 Introduction to the Study

Women have always worked yet the definition of women's work became an issue of particular social and economic significance during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Within the developing capitalist economy of western society wage-earning women occupied an essential position. The growth of the industrial economy depended on an easily exploited and inexpensive labour pool of which many were women and children.

Studies of women's labour force participation rates pointed out that, historically, women's participation in the labour force was cyclically sensitive and that women entered and left employment with cyclical booms and contractions in the employment market (Haber, 1973; Simeral, 1978). During periods of contraction women were likely to utilize their skills, for example, housekeeping skills and sewing skills, in less conventional employment, employment which may be categorized as being informal economic activity. Research by Ramirez (1981) pointed out a need for researchers to consider the "whole sphere of socio-economic activity in which the participants made use of their time and extra-market resources to supplement their means of existence" (p. 45).

Work for wages was only part of the work performed by women. As Pleck (1976) indicated, a revised 'perspective on work deemphasizes wage-earning, suggesting a much broader definition of 'work' which includes nonmarket labor, most of which was (and is) performed by women' (p. 182). The term, nonmarket labour, is often used to refer to housework and childcare activities but can also refer to "all those activities by which persons produced goods and services for their own consumption, or for exchange with goods and services of friends, but without the direct mediation of money and outside the market circuit" (Ramirez, 1981, p. 45). Many domestic activities, for example, childcare, laundry, sewing, and needlecraft work, were often part of the exchange of goods and services between family and friends. Hareven (1977) noted,

> The problem of the mismatch of income and outgo was no doubt a daily concern to the working classes, a potent motive for family decisions . One answer to this mismatch ... was the early employment of youth; women's work was equally logical, but less common (p. 177).

Engaging in nonmarket activities was no doubt another common response.

To date research on women's work in Canada has focused on occupations which became established as feminine occupations, for example, teaching, nursing, clerical work, domestic service, and work in the textile and garment industries. Johnson's (1982) study of industrial home-based earning in Canada viewed from historical and contemporary perspectives, noted that homework for the garment industry employed primarily women. Studies (Acton, 1974; Roberts, 1976) of Canadian women's history listed dressmaking among the occupations available to and practiced by women. Western Canadian sources (Corrective Collective, 1976; Jackel, 1982; Rasmussen, Rasmussen, Savage & Wheeler, 1976; Silverman, 1984) indicated a demand existed for seamstressing and dressmaking skills, particularly during the early settlement years.

Compared with the formally organized feminine occupations seamsterring, dressmaking, and tailoring provided more flexible employment. The use of sewing skills covered a range of employment including sewing for oneself or one's family, occasional sewing for payment in cash or in kind, sewing for customers by the day at home or at the customer's home, dressmaking or ladies' tailoring as a small business (as an employer or employee), dressmaking in a retail clothing or dry goods store, homework for a garment manufacturer, or factory work in the clothing trade. The use of sewing skills in a city, such as Edmonton during the first decades of the twentieth century, encompassed all these possibilities.

Edmonton and other urban centres in the western prairie region grew rapidly after 1901, alongside the developments in agriculture and the expansion of the railways (Artibise, 1981). Cities, such as Edmonton, vied with each other to attract business and settlement. The cost of this boosterism was felt by 1913 when general economic difficulties, compounded in later years by "the dislocation of war and a slow recovery" (Artibise, p. 124) in the 1920s, caught Edmonton (as well as the four other major western cities) in serious financial straits. Weaver (1977) argued that part of Edmonton's vulnerability was due to "its undiversified economy [which] stood exposed to slumps in railway construction, declining immigration, and international credit fluctuations" (p. 22). Repercussions were evident in the record unemployment of 1913 which lasted into the 1920s (Betke, 1981).

As noted earlier, women's formal employment was particularly sensitive to fluctuations in the employment market. Women were the first to be let go when work became scarce. A flexible skill, such as sewing skill, may have been called into use by more women during periods of general economic difficulties.

In order to research the full range of employment utilizing sewing skills a number of sources must be used. Census data is a valuable source of information on the formally organized dressmaking activities, such as work in a dressmaking or ladies' tailoring establishment or work in a garment factory. The study of informal sewing and dressmaking activities requires the use of additional information sources and research methods. Content analysis has proven to be a valuable research method in historical research in that it provides a means of systematically studying a variety of information sources (Kerkhoven, 1986; Paoletti, 1980; Schweger, 1983). In the research of recent time periods, oral history interviewing has provided insight into historically obscure topics (Corrective Collective, 1974; Rasmussen Rasmussen, Savage & Wheeler, 1976; Silverman, 1984). A more comprehensive view of sewing and dressmaking occupations is possible when information from a variety of sources is combined.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to investigate women's use of sewing skills in paid and unpaid employment in Edmonton from 1900 to 1930. The study focused on the nature of women's work in this area and the historical context of that work.

An additional goal of the study was to explore available sources in order to determine the type and amount of information on women's sewing activities in Edmonton from 1900 to 1930. Through this study the research methods of content analysis and oral history were evaluated and compared.

1.3 Objectives

The primary objective of the study was to compile and analyze a data base on the informal and formal seamsterring, dressmaking, and tailoring activities of women in Edmonton from 1900 to 1930. The study involved a systematic examination of newspaper advertisements with a view to determining the nature of women's

employment using seamsterring, dressmaking, and tailoring skills. Specifically, the researcher examined the following features of the newspaper advertisements as they appear over time: (a) the sex of the advertiser; (b) the marital status of the advertiser; (c) the type of sewing, dressmaking, or tailoring advertised; (d) the type of garment produced; (e) the detail of location information given in the advertisement; (f) the type of work situation advertised; (g) the other services offered in conjunction with sewing services; (h) and the other workers involved.

Information gained in the examination of newspaper advertisements was supplemented with information from other sources, for example, *Census of Canada*, *Henderson's Business Directory* listings and archival material. Oral histories were conducted using specific question sets in order to obtain qualitative as well as additional quantitative information.

The following specific objectives were used to meet the primary objective:

1. To compile data files from various sources; newspaper advertisements from the *Edmonton Journal*, *Edmonton Daily Bulletin* and the *Strathcona Plaindealer* (also called the *South Edmonton News*), *Census of Canada*, *Henderson's Business Directory* listings, oral histories, and archival documents from the Provincial Archives of Alberta, and the City of Edmonton Archives.
   a. To compile data files using a system of categorization for the information entered.
   b. To supplement the data files with qualitative information from oral histories.
   c. To make the data files accessible to other researchers for future use.
2. To use all sources to compile an estimate of the approximate number of women in Edmonton from 1900 to 1930 who were engaged in various employments, such as seamsterring, dressmaking, and tailoring, which utilized sewing skills.
3. To use all sources to compile an estimate of the approximate number of women in Edmonton from 1900 to 1930 working in each of the various types of sewing and dressmaking occupations, for example, plain sewing, dressmaking, ladies' tailoring, and in each of the types of work situations, for example, work by the day at the customer's home, work for a retail clothing or dry goods store or work in a dressmaking establishment.

4. To use all sources to create a descriptive profile of the sewers and their sewing activities.
5. To use all sources to compile a list of names and addresses of sewers working in Edmonton from 1900 to 1930.

1.4 Operational Definitions

Informal Economic Activity: In general, the exchanges of goods and services done informally without money transactions, and when money is involved, it is to provide sustenance and not for increasing profits (Ross, 1980, p. 12); labour intensive, low wage work invovled mainly in the production of services which either are untraded or only traded on a very small scale (Gershuny, 1979, p. 12); also referred to as nonmarket or extra-market activities (Pleck, 1976; Ramirez, 1981).

Formal Economic Activity: Economic activity officially recorded and organized by the State whose intervention consists not only of statutory deductions from income but also in activities of organizational control and prevention (Redclift & Mingione, 1985, p. 186).

Designer: A term used to denote one who designs, by sketch or in material or both, apparel and accessories (Picken, 1957, p. 96). The designer was usually an experienced dressmaker, tailor or tailoress who was able to draft patterns and drape in cloth (Smith, 1984).

Cutter: A term used to denote an individual, usually a man (but may refer to an experienced female dressmaker) who was responsible for the skilled task of determining the shape of the pieces, planning the layout and the cutting out of garment pieces in fabric (Kidwell, 1979, p. 3).

Cutting: The term cutting refers to the mental process of determining the shape of the pieces as well as the physical act of cutting (Kidwell, 1979, p. 3).

Pattern Drafting: A term used to denote a means of securing a pattern according to

measurement (Fuller, 1917, p. 42). It is a system of drawing patterns with mechanical precision based on body measurements (Erwin & Kinchen, 1969, p. 466). Drafting was used by dressmakers to acquire a set of foundation patterns of regular measurements, with good proportions and good lines, from which other garments of varying measures were made as required (Fales, 1917, p. 173). In drafting the woman who had become familiar with the meaning of certain proportions and the relation of the various lines of the draft, was able to alter and develop any pattern to suit her needs (Woman's Institute Library of Dressmaking, 1924, p. *iii*).

Draping: A term used to refer to the process of giving three-dimensional form to an idea for a garment; a method of pattern making for fashion design that permits free and accurate expression of ideas as the designer works with fabric on a dress form or a model (Jaffe & Relis, 1973, p. 2).

Ladies' Tailor: A term used to denote a man or woman who specialized in the cutting and making of tailored women's garments principally, suits, coats and simple tailored dresses (Smith, 1984).

Tailoress: A term used to denote a woman responsible for the most complex women's and men's garments such as coats, suits, and jackets. A higher degree of technical knowledge was required to tailor a garment as opposed merely to sewing it (Trautman, 1979, p. 75).

Tailor: A term used to denote a man who cuts and makes various types of men's clothing, principally coats and suits (Picken, 1957, p. 344). The tailor required a higher degree of technical knowledge and required the greatest skill in cutting as opposed to merely sewing (Kidwell, 1979, p. 3; Trautman, 1979, p. 75).

Tailoring: A term used to denote sewing which requires more skill, or constructive experience, than an average dressmaker would have. Successful tailoring also requires a higher grade of workmanship (Woman's Institute, 1923, p. 2). Tailoring techniques are

an extension of sewing - they go beyond sewing in that they are additional techniques which are not usually used on dresses, blouses, and casual wear (Bane, 1974, p. 17). See also the definition of a tailored garment.

Tailored Garment: A term used to denote a garment which is molded to the shape it will assume on the figure by means of hand stitches to hold the various layers together so that they act as one, tapes to control certain edges and areas, and additional pressing techniques to create the desired shape and to ensure that it will be retained (Bane, 1974, p. *viii*).

Dressmaker: The term used to refer to a woman who sews and who is more skilled than a seamstress. A dressmaker cuts, fits, and sews, using both hand and machine sewing to construct garments (Picken, 1939, p. 46).

Dressmaking: A term used to denote sewing which was regarded as a more skilled and professional activity than seamstressing. Dressmaking involved the making of fancy toilettes, complex ensembles such as suits, as well as the altering and repair of garments (Trautman, 1979, p. 75). "Dressmaking is, without question, one of an artistic profession, and ... demands technical skill in putting together" (Hecklinger, 1880, p. *i*).

Seamstress: A term used to denote a woman who seams or sews; a needlewoman whose department in her particular art is to perform **plain sewing**, as distinguished from dress or mantle making and from decorative embroidery (Caulfield, 1972, p. 443). They appear to be able to construct only the simplest of garments, shirts and skirts, for example, and do rudimentary alterations and repairs (Trautman, 1979, pp. 74-75).

Plain Sewing: A term denoting any description of needlework which is of a merely useful character, in contradistinction to that which is purely decorative (Caulfield, 1972, p. 394). Plain sewing included the essential forms of household needlework - the cutting out and stitching of underwear, ordinary clothing, sheets, towels, and bedcoverings. This work required simple stitches among them the back, whip, cross,

and running stitches. Knitting and the making of household linen fit into this category (Swain, 1977, p. 12).

Modiste: A term used to denote a woman who makes or sells fashionable articles of dress (Picken, 1939, p. 100).

Partner: A term used to denote an individual involved as a financial contributor (Smith, 1984).

Apprentice: A term used to denote an individual, usually a young girl, who took a position with a trained dressmaker to learn the trade. Apprentices in dressmaking, tailoring and millinery were not required to pay premiums but were not, as a rule, paid for the first six months. At the end of that time they received some small remuneration as improvers and assistants. Much depended on the special talent of the worker (Scott, 1892, p. 20). A starter was given the finishing of the underside of dresses, felling and binding, sewing on buttons, pulling out basting threads, and working buttonholes. An apprentice would eventually specialize in shirt-making, waist draping, or waist finishing (MacMurchy, 1920, p. 47).

Assistant: A term used to denote an individual who, after serving an apprenticeship and having shown skill in a given area, was assigned to a particular task, such as, buttonholes, sewing on trimmings and machine sewing. An assistant was more experienced and skilled in the trade than an improver (Scott, 1892, p. 102).

Improver: A term used to denote an individual who, after having served the first term of an apprenticeship, was assigned various tasks according to individual skill, such as hemming, sewing on buttons, and hand finishing (Smith, 1984).

Hand: A term used to denote a worker in the dress trade who is trained in the process of manufacturing a particular item, for example, a shirt, pants, vest or waist. The term hand usually refers to an in-factory worker however, the term is also used to refer to

factory out-workers working from their homes (Smith, 1984).

Finisher: A term used to denote a worker who completes the handsewing on garments which have been largely sewn by machine, for example, bastes, sews on buttons, collars and cuffs (Tuchsherer, 1973, p. 100). The finisher takes the last stitches, checks all work and adds any necessary stitches or trimming that completes the work (Picken, 1939, p. 57).

Finishing: The term refers to the process of completing a machine sewn garment by adding any necessary stitches or trim and checking the work on each garment (Picken, 1939, p. 57). 'Finishing' may include any or all of the following items: Sewing on buttons, fastening seams at the end ... sewing parts missed by the machines, making button-holes, hemming bands, 'herring-boning' and 'feather-stitching' (Mudie-Smith, 1906, p. 37). The work of finishing is such as can be taken up by any woman without previous special training (Willet, 1968, p. 110).

Draper: In the dress trade the term refers to an individual who does the pinning, marking and general work on garments; they are the lowest on the pay scale and the least skilled (Tuchscherer, 1973, p. 147).

Family Sewing: A term used to denote the making of new clothing, and the remodelling and repairing of existing clothing. The term includes the making of children's clothing, household items like aprons and housedresses, and lingerie (Smith, 1984).

Remodelling/Making Over: The term refers to the process of taking a discarded garment and making a new one. For example, a new garment could be made from an old tailored suit or two old dresses by ripping and pressing the old garments and cutting the new garment from the cloth obtained, or a dress somewhat out of date could be freshened by the addition of new sleeves or a new sash (Blackburn, 1925, p. 319).

Alterations: A term used to denote corrections made to existing garments to alter the

fit of the garment; includes making a garment smaller or larger in certain areas, for example, shorten or lengthen, take-in or let-out (Smith, 1984). The term also refers to corrections made to patterns to bring them closer to individual body measurements (Reader's Digest, 1979, p. 100).

Other Activities/Services: A term used to denote domestic services involving the production of and/or care of clothing and its accessories. For example, millinery, darning, knitting and crocheting, drycleaning, and laundry are activities included in this category. The term also includes activities which could be undertaken in the home, in conjunction with or instead of, dressmaking, for example, childcare, music lessons or photograph retouching (Smith, 1984).

Millinery: A term denoting the composition of any description of head-dress, whether bonnet, cap, veil, or other decorative or useful head covering (Caulfield, 1882, p. 346).

Needlework: A generic and comprehensive term including every species of work, whether plain or decorative, that can be executed by means of the needle whatever description the needle may be (Caulfield, 1882, p. 354).

Fancy Work: A term describing embroidery and allied domestic crafts done by women at home (Clabburn, 1976, p. 104). Fancy work encompassed all the nonutilitarian forms of needlework (Swain, 1977, p. 12).

Mending: A term used to denote the repair of existing garments with weakened or damaged areas, for example, garments with holes or frayed areas; includes the replacing of the worn-out portion of any garment or piece of stuff, by another piece of material. Mending activities include patching and darning (Caulfield, 1882, p. 378).

Patching: The term refers to the replacing of the worn-out portion of any garment or piece of stuff by another piece of material (Caulfield, 1882, p. 378). Patching consists in accurately fitting a piece, if possible of the same material, into a hole in an article (de

Dillmont, 1886, p. 33).

Darning: The term refers to the repair of a fabric made by replacing the weakened threads of a material by new threads, variously intersecting so as to reproduce as faithfully as possible the weave of the damaged material (de Dillmont, 1886, p. 33). Parallel threads are laid across the hole and crossthreads are woven alternately over and under (Clabburn, 1976, p. 79).

Factory: A term used to denote any building or workshop in which power machinery is employed in preparing, manufacturing or finishing of any article, material or fabric and wherein manual labour is exercised by way of trade or for purposes of gain in or incidental to the making of any article or part of any article, the altering, repairing, ornamenting or finishing of any article, or the adapting for sale of any article (The Factories Act, Alberta, 1917, pp. 137-138). Any factory where not more than five people were employed was not considered a factory under the Act (The Factories Act, p.140). The list of factories includes clothing factories, dressmaking establishments, shirt factories and tailor shops (The Factories Act, pp. 158-159).

Factory Homework / Outworking: A term used to denote the giving out of articles or materials to be made up, cleaned, washed, altered, ornamented, finished or repaired or adapted for sale, in the home of the employee of a factory (The Factories Act, Alberta, 1917, p. 139). In garment manufacturing sample garments were made up which homeworkers used as models for stitching up garments from bundles of pre-cut material. A piece rate was calculated for each garment from the time required to sew the sample (Johnson, 1982, p. 24). Some homeworkers worked on the finishing of garments, for example, the handsewing of hems and waistbands, felling seams (Willet, 1968, p. 110). Homeworkers had to pay for their own machines and thread and were responsible for transporting the materials to and from the suppliers (Johnson, p. 140).

Dressmaking or Tailoring Establishment: A term used to denote a business, separate from a place of residence (The Factories Act, Alberta, 1917, p. 140). The piecework

system may have been used or an individual may have completed an entire garment; however, unlike factory production, a unique custom product was made for a specific client (Smith, 1984).

Work by the day - out: A term used to denote sewing or dressmaking carried out in the customer's home to which the seamstress or dressmaker traveled each day to work in the customer's home or boarded in the customer's home for the duration of the work (Smith, 1984). The woman of the house may have assisted the seamstress or dressmaker by stitching the seams and hems (Swain, 1977, p. 23).

Work by the day - in: A term used to denote sewing or dressmaking carried out in the dressmaker's home (Smith, 1984).

Work at home: A term used to denote sewing or dressmaking undertaken in the home of the seamstress or dressmaker (Smith, 1984).

Work by the hour: A term used to denote sewing or dressmaking charged according to the number of hours required to complete the work requested (Smith, 1984).

Work for a drycleaner: A term used to denote the repair of clothing within a drycleaning business (Smith, 1984).

Classified - Personal: A term used to denote an advertisement of sewing or dressmaking services placed with personal announcements (Smith, 1984).

Classified - Situations Vacant : A term used to denote an advertisement placed in a newspaper by a person or persons with a work position they wish to have filled; the term "help wanted" is also used (Smith, 1984).

Classified - Situations Wanted: A term used to denote an advertisement in a newspaper placed by an individual seeking employment (Smith, 1984).

Classified - Business Cards: A term used to denote an advertisement in a newspaper copied from a business card and listed along with other businesses of various descriptions (Smith, 1984).

Classified - Dressmaking: A term used to denote a newspaper advertisement that specifically uses the term dressmaker in reference to the individual advertising the service (Smith, 1984).

Classified - Misc. Wants: A term used to denote an advertisement in the newspaper offering or requesting sewing services and listed with various other want ads (Smith, 1984).

Classified - Business Chances: A term used to denote an advertisement of individuals wanting to start a business, join an existing business or sell a business related to the use of sewing skills (Smith, 1984).

Too Late to Classify: A term used to denote any classified advertisements received by the newspaper at a time which was too late for the advertisements to be sorted according to the various sections of classified advertisements (Smith, 1984).

Woman's Page: A term used to denote a page in the newspaper with reports of interest specifically to women, for example, fashion articles. The page may include notices for sewing and dressmaking services (Smith, 1984).

With News Item: A term used to denote an advertisement appearing among news items rather than in a specified advertising section of the newspaper, for example, Classified Ads (Smith, 1984).

1.5 Limitations of the Study

The time period, 1900 to 1930, was chosen for this study. During this 30 year period the economy of the city went through a major expansion and recession. Employment opportunities for men and women were influenced by the economic climate of the city.

During the period, 1900 to 1930, the style of clothing changed from complex, form-fitting garments to simple, less structured garments requiring less skill, materials and time to produce. As clothing became less structured and form-fitting the demand for custom production declined. The simplification of clothing styles evident by the early 1920s was a major factor in the development and growth of a women's ready-to-wear dress trade. By 1930 the women's ready-to-wear garment industry was well established.

For purposes of this study Strathcona was considered, as well as Edmonton, for the years 1900-1912. Strathcona amalgamated with Edmonton in 1912.

The study focused on the occupations of seamsterring, dressmaking and tailoring as practiced by women. Men also engaged in these occupations, particularly tailoring; however, information on the practice of such occupations by men will be discussed only in the findings and discussion as it pertains to the findings about the women involved. The discussion of tailoring will be confined to those women or men designated as ladies' tailors or tailoresses producing women's tailored garments.

The Factories Act of Alberta (1917, pp. 158-159) lists four categories of clothing manufacturers: clothing factories, shirt factories, dressmaking establishments and tailor shops. For purposes of this study only the latter two categories of clothing manufacturers, dressmaking establishments and tailor shops, will be considered. Homework for the ready-to-wear clothing industry often fell within the informal economy and occupied primarily women, therefore, all industrial home-based sewing from each of the four categories of *The Factories Act*, was included as part of this study.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Women's Work

The work most often associated with a large number of women includes domestic service, dressmaking and seamstressing, teaching, nursing, office work, clerical and sales work. Wilson (1982) noted that from 1901 until 1971 these six occupations accounted for at least fifty per cent of the female labour force in Canada. References (Hill, 1979; Hooks, 1947) on the female work force in the United States from 1870 to 1940 list the same six occupations, in expanded categories and with the addition of farm labour, among the ten leading occupations for women. The largest percentage of women were employed in domestic service; in Canada, this was the largest occupational category for women until the Second World War (Wilson, 1982). The occupations of seamstress, dressmaker and tailoress were leading paid occupations for women in Canada and the United States to 1920.

The choices open to women who wanted or needed to work were limited by the social definition of what constituted a suitable feminine occupation. The jobs available to them were largely determined by a basic demand for the unskilled or semi-skilled labour they provided and by social attitudes towards women's paid work. As Wilson (1982) pointed out, "women moved into jobs that were either natural extensions of their homemaking or nurturing skills or that were rapidly expanding and in need of an inexpensive labour pool" (pp. 75-76). Woloch (1984) elaborated on this point by stating that "most women wage earners filled huge gaps in the expanding industrial sector by taking 'new jobs' - unskilled jobs that men never held, jobs that mutiplied in profusion" (p. 240). The feminization of occupations such as teaching, nursing, sales and clerical work reinforced segregation of work by sex.

Notions of suitable and respectable work for women are evidence of working-class women's attempts to adhere in part to the domestic ideology of the period. The cult of domesticity was a middle-class ideology of the late 19th and early 20th centuries which emphasized the virtues of femininity: piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity (Welter, 1976).

A hierarchy existed which ranked women's work according to a respectability standard. Certain jobs, such as domestic service, factory work and waitressing, had a stigma attached to them; better jobs were teaching, nursing, sales and clerical work. Any work situation which protected feminine virtues within a paternal organization was valued above work which threatened those virtues (Kessler-Harris, 1982). Ideas of respectability also benefited employers; they could offer reduced wages to those who sought respectable work situations. This practice, coupled with self-imposed social constraints, resulted in a crowding of the occupations available to women (Kessler-Harris, 1982).

Sex-specific job categories were justified by the popular belief that men and women were essentially different and therefore, the roles each had in society were "naturally" determined by their differences. Social Darwinian theory, popular in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, was used to support the notion of separate spheres of influence for the sexes. Evolutionary theory was used to explain how "women's social functions ... developed naturally in accordance with women's nature" (Newman, 1985, p. 10). Newman noted that a "belief in sexual differences led to the structuring of sex segregated work environments, but the effects of this organization were then taken as proof of the original hypothesis: Only men could do certain tasks, and only women could do others" (p. 250).

The argument for socially recognized separate spheres for men and women developed out of the need to rationalize changes brought about by the growth of the market economy, particularly changes that were threatening to the balance of power within the family. Since women were biologically fit to be childbearers the home was designated as their proper sphere. Being the stronger of the sexes, males were better suited to meet the demands of a competitive business world. The process which led to the man becoming more and more removed from productive activity in the home upheld the woman as the individual most responsible for the well-being of the family, particularly the moral health of the family (Cook & Mitchinson, 1976).

Galbraith (1973) coined the term, "convenient social virtue", to point to the social and economic significance of woman's role as the household manager. As in the domestic ideology of the 19th and early 20th centuries, woman's real work was defined

as the work done in the home for the family. Galbraith argued that the ideology served to disguise the underlying economic need for unpaid labour in the home.

Some of the work women performed satisfied Ross' (1980) definition of the informal economy as "the exchange of goods and services done informally without money transactions, and when money is involved, it is not for increasing profits" (p. 12). Gershuny (1979) further described work within the informal economy as characteristically low-wage, labour intensive, and insecure with working conditions not subject to health and safety standards. Home-based earning, for example, homework for a garment manufacturer, most of which was and is done by women, comes under this category. In her work on industrial home-sewing in Canada, Johnson (1982) noted the garment industry employed (and employs) the most homeworkers in Canada. The garment industry relied on a mass of unskilled or semi-skilled workers who worked on a piecework system. Johnson noted a decline in homework in the late 1920s and 1930s; a clear connection was observed between a rising standard of living and a drop in homework. However, homework "continued to flourish in low-income communities and to attract workers who were the most vulnerable and dependent, for example, illegal or recent immigrants, disabled persons, and mothers of young children" (Johnson, p. 54).

Home-based work also included "socio-economic activity in which the participants made use of their time and extra-market resources to supplement their means of existence" (Ramirez, 1981, p. 45). Extra-market or nonmarket activities included taking boarders or lodgers, producing a vegetable garden, sewing clothing for family and friends, and so on (Hareven, 1977; Pleck, 1976; Ramirez, 1981).

Household production of goods and services, according to Reid's (1934) definition, included:

> those unpaid activities which are carried on by and for those members, which activities might be replaced by market goods or paid services, if circumstances such as income, market conditions and personal inclinations permit the service being delegated to someone outside the household group (p. 11).

Using the example of the production of garments within the household , Reid stated:

> The skill possessed by certain family members influences greatly the quality of product provided and also whether the family or a paid worker shall do a given task .... [T]he woman who can construct a garment with ease [is more likely] to do the home sewing than [she] would if [her] ability in such productive processes were undeveloped (p. 124).

With reference to two studies of the relative cost of homemade to ready-to-wear clothing undertaken in the United States, one published in 1923 and the other in 1931, Reid noted that the more expensive garments such as silk dresses and outer garments provided the greatest saving "if the sewer had ability in reproducing style" (p. 221). Studies of household production support the argument for a new viewpoint on work which "deemphasizes wage-earning, suggesting a much broader definition of 'work' which includes nonmarket labour, most of which was ... performed by women" (Pleck, 1976, p. 182).

Connelly's (1978) study of the economic circumstances influencing women's participation in the Canadian work force from 1901 to 1971 suggested that research of women's paid and unpaid occupations should consider the particular economic environment in which they occur. Wilson (1979), in her discussion of the economic function of American cities during the years 1870-1920, noted from an analysis of census data that "cities with a larger proportion of their total labor force in manufacturing and mechanical occupations had a greater percentage of employed women than did cities that inclined toward trade and transportation occupations" (p. 128). Women's participation in informal economic activities and the opportunities for paid employment available to them may have been influenced by the economic function of the city in which they lived.

Working-class women's participation in paid employment and the informal economic activities was influenced by the employment opportunities available to working-class men. Research on the working-class in Toronto, Montreal, and the United States from the 1890s to 1930 noted the average family required the full employment of the head of household or, which was more often the case, at least two wage-earners to reach the minimum income level (Copp, 1974; Piva, 1979; Roberts, 1976; Tentler, 1979). Children and young women formed an important part of the working class work force. Coulter (1976) noted that, due to the seasonal nature of work in Alberta and the resulting unemployment, it was necessary for children to contribute to the income of some families.

As Wilson (1979) stated, "the degree of economic necessity, types of occupations available and acceptable, existing attitudes within the group regarding

employment of women - all undoubtedly played a part in determining employment patterns" (p. 114). Brandt's (1985) work on the impact on paid employment of the changing life situations of women working in the Quebec textile industry emphasized a research method that considers "the dynamics of the complex relationship between women, work, and the family" (p. 114).

The majority of working women were young, single working-class women who spent the time after the end of schooling and before marriage engaged in paid employment. For many the expectation of marriage as a means of economic support deterred professional development as workers and consequently encouraged employee turnover. Brandt (1985) noted, "the result was that companies regarded all women, regardless of their individual circumstances, as temporary workers, and provided no occupational mobility for them" (p. 121).

Women leaving the work force to marry were replaced by other single young women, "their places were taken by other, generally younger, women workers and thus the great total remains undiminished " (Roberts, 1976, p. 10). Many of these women lived at home with their parents and contributed all or part of their wage to the family income. Indeed, as Acton (1974) pointed out, "wages were such that they had to live at home or take part-time jobs as domestics (or prostitutes)" (p. 269).

The remainder of the work force was comprised of women who were the sole support of themselves and their families. Widows, separated, deserted or divorced women, and never-married women necessarily required an independent income. Married women with unemployed or underemployed husbands were often pushed into wage work as a means of supplementing or replacing a husband's wages. For these women social attitudes toward employed women added to the strain of economic need. As Newman (1985) noted, society in general viewed older working women as objects of pity or disdain; widows and women whose husbands could not support them were pitied; divorced women and spinsters were disdained. Consequently, those women who could, worked only until some other member of the family could replace them in the work force (Fraundorf, 1979).

Married women worked primarily when family financial needs required it and when there were no children of working age. According to one researcher's estimate "it

wasn't until the 1920s ... that male incomes of the unskilled reached the level of a living family wage. The family still needed secondary wage earners to support itself" (Phillips & Phillips, 1983, p. 18). The role of secondary wage earner increasingly fell to wives. Societal attitudes toward working wives and mothers and the opposition of husbands to outside employment kept most married women out of the work force (Brandt, 1985). Employment of married women outside the home reflected negatively on the husband's role as the economic head of household and for some, "the working woman ... symbolized the dissolution of the family" (Newman, 1985, p. 245).

Social sanctions against the outside employment of wives and mothers did not extend to homework. The ability to engage in remunerative work in the home allowed women to attend to housework and children at the same time and to escape the charge that they were neglecting their domestic responsibilities. The usual alternatives were to keep boarders, work as a dressmaker in the home, teach music or take in industrial homework. Fraundorf (1979) noted, "the gainful employment of mothers was possible because of the availability of numerous jobs that could be done in the home, such as taking in laundry or piecework manufacture of clothing, artificial flowers or holiday decorations" (p. 406).

By the 1920s the growing ethic of consumerism combined with generally better education for women led to a gradual change in social attitudes. A rising standard of living changed the definition of what constituted necessities placing a greater demand on family income and creating new incentives. For those who could afford it the new technology reduced household work leaving more time to earn money for additional amenities (Kessler-Harris, 1982).

Throughout the 1920s women from middle- and upper-class families moved into the expanding white-collar sector of the work force. The expectations of some included the possibility of combining a career with marriage. However, as Kessler-Harris (1982) noted, "most women did not have the kinds of jobs that suggested the possibility of personal growth and satisfaction, and their daily lives were filled with the same pressures that had characterized the lives of their mothers a generation earlier" (p. 236).

2.2 The Women's Dress Trade

The interaction of custom dressmaking and ready-to-wear clothing manufacture was such that the growth of a ready-to-wear clothing industry inevitably resulted in the decline of dressmaking as an occupation. Tuchscherer's (1973) study of the development of the dress trade in the United States provides useful information on the factors influencing the growth of the dress trade in particular. The fashion of the period is cited as the primary reason why the dress trade developed as it did and when it did.

The complex form-fitting women's garments of the 1890s and 1900s were more profitably and satisfactorily produced in a custom dressmaking shop. The tubular silhouette of the teens and 1920s was less complex and form-fitting and therefore could be produced in greater quantity and at a lower unit cost, to fit a greater number of women. Tuchscherer (1973) noted that more units of the tubular fashion could be sewn in any given unit of time and using less materials than the back-full fashion of the 1890s and 1900s: and, although the business was still a risky one, the probability of profits was greater for the tubular fashion than the 1890s one since mass production was now feasible. As in the men's clothing industry, the ability to standardize sizing was essential to the development of the dress trade. The simplicity of the tubular fashion allowed for standardization but at a much later date than was the case with the men's clothing industry.

Initially, women's ready-to-wear apparel, such as cloaks, suits, riding habits and shirtwaists, was developed from corresponding male clothing, particularly as women's working and sports attire (Banner, 1983). Banner reasoned that "work was a masculine sphere, and for justification in entering it, women borrowed masculine attire" (p. 32).

The shirtwaist trade in New York had started by 1890; by 1900 shirtwaists were being manufactured by the hundreds (Daves, 1967). Banner (1983) noted, however, that shirtwaist fashions evolved and "within a few years it had developed extraordinarily shaped sleeves and confining collars and often needed special tailoring" (p. 150).

The tubular dress silhouette, in fashion by 1913, marked a distinctive change in the dress product which was accompanied by a modification of consumer tastes toward simpler, less structured clothing. The dress trade developed out of the shirtwaist trade. The years 1914 to 1918 were boom years for the dress industry and by 1921 the

dress trade dominated the women's ready-to-wear clothing industry (Tuchscherer, 1973). Daves (1967) commented that ready-to-wear dresses were not a big commercial success until 1921-1922 when a simplified body-shape and simplified garment shape were an established fashion. This supports Tuchscherer's hypothesis that a change in consumer taste was a necessary influence on the growth of the dress trade. Tuchscherer hypothesized that at the first of the period (1900) more fashionable dresses were likely obtained through a dressmaker; not until the ready-to-wear garment industry provided more fashionable garments did the role of dressmaking decline. Advertising and a mail-order system were used by companies, such as Eaton's, to encourage women to buy ready-made clothing rather than make their own or have them custom-made (Phillips & Phillips, 1983).

The need to respond to the demands of fashion in the women's ready-to-wear industry limited the dress trade in its early years to production in small shops and through the contracting system. The growth of the dress trade "was unaccompanied by technological or organizational advances" (Tuchscherer, 1973, pp. 61-62) the major factor in the growth was the availability of a large immigrant labour pool. The sewing machine dominated the industry and with its introduction the demand for labour shifted to unskilled workers.

Research by Piva (1979) on the working-class in Toronto, 1900-1921, noted that in 1911 the small shop and homework were typical of the Canadian clothing industry. A *Report Upon the Sweating System in Canada*, written in 1896, stated: "The development of the ready-to-wear industry by subdivision of labour has rendered unnecessary the employment of so great a proportion of specially skilled handicraftsmen and made it possible to give the employment to less skilled and cheaper labour (quoted in Light & Parr, 1983, p. 31). In reference to the clothing industry in Leeds, England of 1880 to 1914, Busfield (1985) noted:

> It appears that small clothing firms may have preferred to employ experienced women, but large factories favoured young girls. Presumably the small employer found that the higher wage they had to pay to an experienced tailoress was offset by her higher productivity, whereas the large employer found it economical to train young girls since learners who produced little were only a small part of his total workforce at any one time (p. 82).

By 1921 the factory system dominated; production of clothing by skilled dressmakers, tailors and tailoresses was largely replaced by the factory production of clothing by

unskilled factory operatives. Piva noted that the development of the women's ready-to-wear garment industry led to a decline in the level of employment of women who previously worked as dressmakers and tailoresses.

In the contracting system the common pattern was for the designing, cutting, and making of the sample garment to be done "inside" by the manufacturer, the sewing, pressing, and finishing to be done outside in smaller shops or home workshops (Kidwell, 1974). The *Report Upon the Sweating System in Canada* (1896) stated:

> The piecework system is probably more usual where women and children are employed than it is among male employees, but the division cannot be said to be on sex lines. Having regard, however, to the fact that all work done in private houses is done on the piecework system and is mainly done by women, it is evident that much the greater part of the clothing made under the piecework system is made by women (quoted in Light and Parr, 1983, p. 31).

In the volatile women's ready-to-wear industry clothing was often "manufactured on consignment for retail stores, department stores, or wholesalers, few of which had any direct contact with the workers" (Johnson, 1982, p. 38). Manufacturers benefited by this system because they could "adjust production to rising and falling consumer demand without maintaining facilities" (Johnson, p. 43). Homeworkers were at a distinct disadvantage in that "they had to pay for their own machines and thread, and were responsible for transporting the materials to and from the suppliers. Their wages moreover were liable to be reduced through fines if the employer found fault with their work" (Johnson, p. 40). By the beginning of the 20th century homework came under the scrutiny of social reformers who tried to apply factory laws to some homework. However, as Johnson noted, "laws were often half-hearted and ineffectual, enforcement was almost impossible" (p. 47); homework persisted.

With the introduction of social welfare services and minimum wage laws many homeworkers moved into better-paying jobs outside the home. The number of homeworkers declined between 1900 and 1920, however a trend toward homework was evident in the late 1920s (Johnson, 1982). Studies (Butler, 1969; Johnson, 1982; Manning, 1930) on homework for garment manufacturers listed immigrants, women with young children, elderly or partially disabled persons, and wives and children of wage-earners as the main groups of homeworkers. As Johnson pointed out, homework was a response to poverty and "continued to flourish in low-income communities and to

attract workers who were the most vulnerable and dependent" (p. 54).

2.3 Dressmaking

Descriptive studies (Acton, 1974; Cook & Mitchinson, 1976; Corrective Collective, 1974; Light & Parr, 1983; Jackel, 1982; Rasmussen, Rasmussen, Savage & Wheeler, 1976; Silverman, 1984) of women's work in Canada during the late 19th and early 20th centuries mention the occupations of seamstress, dressmaker, and tailoress. Trofimenkoff (1978) observed, "many dressmakers and seamstresses would work in their own home, in private homes, in very small establishments or as 'outside workers' for retail clothing shops" (pp. 70-71). MacMurchy (1920), in *The Canadian Girl at Work*, commented on the seamstress who sews by the day in the homes of her employers:

> In this work she is on her responsibility and is handling goods of some value, so that she needs judgement as well as knowledge. The rates of payment are from $1.75 to $2.50 per day, meals included. Sometimes the home dressmaker may be paid even $3.00 or more a day, but in this case she must be quick and her work must be exceptionally well done. The ordinary seamstress should be a neat sewer and should know how to fit, but she is not expected to design or to make elaborate costumes (p. 49).

An article entitled, *How Women May Earn a Living*, (Candee, 1900) claimed:

> There is money to be made in custom-made shirt-waists, cut in correct style, of the best materials, and sold at a figure that entices the purchaser even from the bargain counter of the department store. Who starts in this business now cannot be called a pioneer, for there are several firms of women in the full swing of success" (p. 231).

However, the author offered little practical advice as to how this success was to be achieved. The Woman's Institute Library of Dressmaking (1924) included a chapter on "The Dressmaker and Tailor Shop" which covered topics such as choosing a suitable location, choosing a name, business matters and working tips.

Articles (Clark, 1980; Crowther, 1976; Jerde, 1980) about individual dressmakers in the United States and England provide information on successful dressmaking establishments operated during the 1880s to 1920s. The most influential period for these dressmakers was 1890 to approximately 1915. Each dressmaker combined a talent for fashionable dressmaking with a keen business sense. All started business in the family home and eventually expanded to separate business establishments employing from over 20 to 206 employees. At the height of their success each dressmaker traveled to Paris, New York or London to view and purchase current styles

for copying. Each of the businesses had either closed or declined by the 1920s due in part to the changing styles and the increased acceptability and availability of ready-to-wear clothing.

Trautman's (1979) demographic study of personal clothiers working in Colorado from 1880 to 1920 relied on National Census Reports, city directories, and business directories for data on the number, sex, marital status, and national origin of personal clothiers. In addition, data was collected for the cities of Denver and Fort Collins. Her findings support current knowledge about the occupations of personal clothiers and about women's work in general. Trautman reported some distinguishing features of the occupations of personal clothiers: (1) seamsterring and dressmaking became definite woman's occupations while tailoring became more masculinized during the period; (2) seamsterring was dominated by white females aged 16 to 24 while dressmaking was dominated by white females aged 35 to 44; (3) the largest percentage of seamstresses and dressmakers were single; (4) a marked decrease in the numbers of personal clothiers was evident between 1910 and 1920. Data from city and business directories for Denver and Fort Collins indicated that seamsterring and dressmaking were temporary occupations generally worked out of one's residence. Trautman argued that tailors were better prepared for the transition to ready-to-wear clothing manufacture than were seamstresses and dressmakers because they had made early alliances with merchant tailors and businesses such as drycleaning or dry goods establishments.

Little is known about the training dressmakers received in their skill; some were apprenticed to trained dressmakers, some learned the skill from their mothers, some learned in schools and still others may have learned from a dressmaking manual. Kidwell (1979), in her study of drafting systems available to dressmakers, noted:

> By the last two decades of the 19th century the dress cutting systems were aimed mostly at professional dressmakers. Some methods were still designed partly for women who wanted to make their own dresses but the emphasis was on selling to the individual wanting to be paid for making garments for others. This shift occurred when the latest fashions dictated precisely fitted garments of the most complex cut and when direct-measure methods (with their greater degree of accuracy and difficulty) became popular. By then, women sewing only for themselves or their families had a simpler way to obtain their patterns; they could buy them from a manufacturer of sized paper patterns (p. 81).

Reliable patterns for women's garments had been available since the 1870s from manufacturers such as Demorest, Butterick, and McCall. Butterick in particular aimed at a

wide distribution for their patterns through a mail-order system and through promotion in the Butterick published fashion magazine, *The Delineator* (Walsh, 1979, pp. 305, 311). Kidwell (1979) noted, "Demorest's, Butterick's, and McCall's patterns were all sized by proportional systems of grading. Most ladies found these patterns had to be altered to fit" (p. 86). Walsh concluded that a degree of success in the use of these patterns is evident in the millions of patterns sold annually. Reid (1934) noted in the *Economics of household production* :

> The greater the skill and training required, the less likely is the household worker to produce satisfactory goods. Children's clothes are more frequently made by the homemaker than the clothes for adult members of the group because they are made in simpler styles and are more easily fitted and are less likely to appear homemade. The more complicated is the pattern for a garment and the harder the material is to work with, the fewer women are found making the garment at home (p. 128).

Patterns were an aid to the home dressmaker; however, the skill and training of the seamstress determined satisfaction with home-sewn garments.

The development of the paper pattern industry and the ready-to-wear clothing industry was preceeded by the development of the sewing machine industry. The sewing machine industry in Canada and the United States was established well before 1900. The important years in the Canadian sewing machine industry were "1860 to 1897, a period when 14 Ontario manufacturers ... were producing family or domestic sewing machines" (Brent, 1980, p. 2). Brent noted that consumer demand for sewing machines was high during the 1870s as a result of "the availability of spare parts, convenient local machine servicing, instalment plan purchasing, and massive advertising campaigns" (p. 1). By 1900 many Canadian families had sewing machines or were able to purchase them on an installment plan. A portable hand machine was $11.75 or $15.00 with a case and a 'seamstress' cabinet model sold for $21.00 in 1903-04 (de Glazebrook, 1969, p. 97). In 1926-27 a portable machine with a case was $29.00, a cabinet model was from $34.00 to $57.50 (de Glazebrook, p. 267).

Writers of period dressmaking manuals advised their readers to develop some skill in making clothing not only for the creative outlet it afforded but also for the security of having a marketable skill. Allington (1913) wrote in her introduction to *Practical Sewing and Dressmaking*:

> Every woman, no matter how she may be situated at the present time should have at her command some knowledge which, if circumstances demand it

> suddenly, would bring her in a good income .... Oftentimes a financial crisis comes suddenly into one's life when there is no time to wait for positions and hardly time to think what to do. With the knowledge of sewing and dressmaking, one can turn to it and earn a good income at almost a moment's notice (p. 1).

Other writers (Baldt, 1916; MacMurchy, 1920) argued that knowing how to cut out and sew garments enabled a woman to be independent in her dress and appearance. The author of the Woman's Institute's (1923) *First Step in Dressmaking* noted, "to be able to create exquisitely beautiful articles or garments is a most gratifying and worthy accomplishment proving not only of definite economic value but of cultural value as well" (p. 1). Viewed from an individual perspective Reid (1934) noted that sewing was potentially:

> A manipulative process [which] yields pleasure to one who likes to work with her hands, and a tangible product as the evidence of her labor. The fashioning of materials, seeing the work develop under ones hands, affords a means of self-expression to some (p.130) .

Women sewed garments not only for economic reasons but also for the creativity involved in the process and the enjoyment and satisfaction in doing skilled work (Roberts, 1984).

2.4 History of Edmonton

Two theses (Betke, 1981; Gilpin, 1978) deal specifically with Edmonton and Strathcona during the period 1900 to 1930: *The Development of Urban Community in Prairie Canada: Edmonton, 1898-1921*; and *The City of Strathcona, 1891-1912*. Each thesis discusses the factors which determined the growth of both cities, for example, the railway and civic leadership are recognized as central factors. Betke cites strong civic leadership as an important impetus to the eventual prominence of the city of Edmonton. Edmonton's city leaders realized the value of economic investment to the growth of the city. Gilpin noted the failure to recognize the need for economic investment on the part of Strathcona's civic leaders as one reason for that city's limited growth and eventual amalgamation with the city of Edmonton in 1912.

The growth of an identifiable economic base within the cities, particularly the development of industrial and commercial interests, was realized through a utilization of available natural resources and the ability to satisfy the economic needs of the surrounding agricultural region using distribution channels provided by the railway (Betke,

1981; Gilpin, 1978). Edmonton's more aggressive negotiations for railway lines successfully promoted that city's growth as a metropolis. The nature of the city of Edmonton was such that the "personal fortunes and quality of life [of individual Edmontonians] depended upon the welfare, the prosperity and the undertakings of the city as a whole" (Betke, p. 61).

By 1906 building construction, the arrival of bank branches and mercantile expansion were obvious indicators of economic growth (Betke, 1981). But, as Betke pointed out, "great diversification was not a trademark of booming Edmonton.... [The city] still had to come to grips with the issue of financially encouraging a range of industries to locate in Edmonton" (p. 191). The *Census of 1911* (Vol. 6, Table 6) indicates that almost half of all employed males were in construction and trade and merchandising occupations. By 1921, the number of males working in service and professional

Table 2.1 Percent of the Working Population of Edmonton Classified by Occupational Group and Sex

Occupation	Sex	1911	1921	1931
Manufacturing[1]	M	15.0	12.0	14.0
	F	11.0	11.0	7.0
Construction	M	21.0	9.0	10.0
	F	00.0	00.0	0.3
Trade and Merchandising	M	24.0	19.0	18.0
	F	12.0	16.0	18.0
Transportation	M	10.0	16.0	16.0
	F	1.0	4.0	3.0
Finance	M	9.0	4.0	3.0
	F	3.0	4.0	4.0
Service and Professional	M	13.0	26.0	24.0
	F	72.0	59.0	67.0
Other[2]	M	9.0	13.0	15.0
	F	1.0	6.0	0.7

[1]Of the females occupied in manufacturing 76% (1911), 63% (1921) and 65% (1931) were working on the manufacture of textile products.
[2]Other = Agriculture, logging, mining and unspecified industries.
(Census of Canada 1911, Vol. 6, Table 6; Census of Canada 1921, Vol. 4, Table 5; Census of Canada 1931, Vol. 7, Table 32).

occupations had increased to approximately 25% (*Census of Canada 1921*, Vol. 4, Table 5). The majority of working women were occupied in the service sector; however, with each passing decade, increasing numbers entered occupations in trade and merchandising. Of the approximately 10% of working women engaged in manufacturing occupations the majority were occupied in the production of clothing and textile products (*Census of Canada 1911*, Vol. 6, Table 6; *Census of Canada 1921*, Vol. 4, Table 5; *Census of Canada* , Vol. 7, Table 32).

Compared to cities with a developed garment industry such as Toronto, Montreal and Winnipeg, Edmonton had a much smaller garment industry with a limited range of products. Copp (1974) noted that in Montreal "between 1901 to 1921 more than one-third of all women employees were engaged in the manufacturing sector" (p. 44). In Toronto, for example, the most important industry in terms of employment of women was the clothing industry (Piva, 1979).

The seasonal nature of much of the employment available, particularly in construction, left many men unemployed at least part of the year. This problem was particularly apparent in 1913 when immigration was at its height and economic depression had set in (Betke, 1981).

Unbridled economic expansion in the pre-war years left prairie urban centres, including Edmonton, in financial difficulty. Artibise (1981) noted that Edmonton had the most severe financial situation of the five major prairie urban centres. The years of the First World War and the early 1920s were a period of slow economic recovery and a decline in growth (Weaver, 1977).

The *Census of Canada 1921* indicated that the increase in wages, particularly in the western cities studied, did not keep pace with the cost of living: "much of the increase shown for the latter year [1921] over the former [1911] was, to a great extent, absorbed by the higher cost of living in 1921 as compared with 1911" (p. *xxv*). In addition, there was an increase from 1911 to 1921 in the western cities studied, of the average number of children under fifteen for which the head of household had financial responsibility (Census of Canada 1921, Vol. 4, Table 14, p. *xxv*). As Thompson and Seager (1985) pointed out, the National Policy encouraged specialized regional economies with the result that in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta in 1921 seven of

every ten workers were directly engaged in agriculture, and most of the remainder were dependent upon transporting agricultural products or supplying the wants of the farm community" (p. 13). Not until "extraordinarily high yields of grain between 1925 and 1928" did the agriculture of the Prairie Provinces revive (Thompson & Seager, p. 96).

Despite the influx of European immigrants to the West, Edmonton in the 1920s was predominantly Anglo-Saxon in nature. Three-quarters of the population was of British stock, and Canadians, particularly Ontarians, dominated the institutions of the society. As Betke (1981) noted, "traditionally collective behaviour in traditional institutions was simply transplanted to a new setting" (p. 305). Friesen (1984) explained:

> The cities of the west, and to a lesser degree, the towns and villages too, were becoming identical to the urban centres of the industrial capitalist world. One aspect of this remarkable homogenizing process was the creation of a comparable urban social structure: it comprised a large working class, a professional service class, and the business leaders. The many elements ignored by this simplistic design, such as the thousands of small merchants, salesmen, and clerks, found their place by choosing the social identity to which they were most closely allied (pp. 291-292).

In her study of child-related reform in Edmonton, Coulter (1977) argued that Canadians borrowed reform ideas, most often from the United States, and reinterpreted and applied them to their situation. In a similar manner, social attitudes regarding women and work may have coloured attitudes toward Edmonton's working women.

2.5 Research Methods

2.5.1 Content Analysis

Three recent studies (Kerkhoven, 1986; Paoletti, 1980; Schweger, 1983) have used content analysis in research of topics in clothing and textiles. Paoletti and Kerkhoven both applied content analysis to written material. Paoletti surveyed cartoons in selected fashion magazines and Kerkhoven used the prize lists for textile crafts from selected agricultural fairs in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Schweger studied archival documents and developed a method of coding selected information obtained from artifacts. Each study demonstrated that these somewhat unconventional sources can be valuable information resources when systematically analyzed.

Content analysis is a research method developed to objectively, systematically, and quantitatively investigate the manifest content of the communication which serves as

the basis of inference (Holsti, 1969). In quantifying information taken from a given source the frequency of a given attribute appearing is important; however, in some instances the presence or absence of an attribute may be important. The latter recording method is referred to as qualitative analysis. Berelson (1952) referred to this method as quasi-quantitative. Berelson argued that qualitative analysis may produce a "more clever or relevant analysis ... allowing for more subtle or more individualized interpretations" (p. 125) of the source material. However, as George (1959) stated, the consensus among researchers is that the quantitative method of controlled observation and systematic counting of given content characteristics is preferable in most cases.

To ensure objectivity and systematic recording of data explicit rules governing the inclusion or exclusion of content in the designated categories must be outlined. Precise operational definitions of the categories are essential to reliable coding of data. The validity of the measure is enhanced by corroboration from other independent sources. If the researcher wants to make inferences about causes of the content supporting evidence is required (Holsti, 1969).

2.5.2 Oral History

Oral history provides a valuable source of information particularly in that it "provides an opportunity to explore and record the views of the underprivileged, the dispossessed, the defeated - those who, by virtue of being historically inarticulate, have been overlooked in most studies of the past" (Henige, 1982, p. 107). The history of the majority of women in Canada has been, until recently, overlooked. Oral history is one means of recording part of their history.

Oral history as a research method is the process of creating a view of history from conversation with individuals whose experience is regarded as being significant (Clark, Hyde and McMahan, 1980). As Clark, Hyde and McMahan stated, the purpose of these interview/conversations is to corroborate, to correct and to extend the lines of traditional inquiry. Regardless of the limitations inherent in this method of research it is often one of the few sources of information regarding many aspects of women's history.

A primary limitation of oral history research is that it is impossible to obtain an

unbiased sample since possible interviewees are limited to those individuals still living. Lummis (1981) noted, "because of the unknown bias of mortality and so forth, no oral history sample can be a random sample" (p. 120). The fallibility and selectivity of memory itself limits what is remembered. Lummis pointed out that memories are also recalled and interpreted in light of the informant's contemporary values.

As with information obtained using content analysis, oral history evidence should be supported by data from conventional sources. Lummis (1981) noted that the validity of oral evidence can be assessed by the degree to which details among various sources correspond. A similar process of corroboration can also be used to establish the general reliability of the interview.

References (Langlois, 1976; Reimer, 1984) which discuss the actual process of oral history interviewing suggested the use of a structured question set while allowing for flexibility if an unexpected topic arises. Henige (1982) pointed out that the phrasing of questions will affect the validity of the answers given to them. Also, the questions asked and the subsequent interpretation of the answers depends on "the underlying historical assumptions" (Lummis, 1981, p. 111) regarding the subject of the interviiew.

3. Methodology

3.1 Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted using selected issues of the *Edmonton Journal*. A survey of advertisements related to sewing, dressmaking, tailoring and homework for clothing manufacturers was completed for every fifth year of the period, 1900 to 1930, beginning with 1905. A coding sheet (see Appendix A) was developed for use as a tool in the content analysis of additional issues of the *Edmonton Journal* and two other area newspapers - the *Edmonton Bulletin* and the *Strathcona Plaindealer* (also called the *South Edmonton News*). The coding sheet was tested by three independent coders.

The second stage of the pilot study included the development of a question set to be used in oral history interviewing. A notice was placed in the Senior's Section of the *Edmonton Journal* which briefly outlined the research project and requested participants for oral history interviews (see Appendix C). The initial notice requested interview subjects who had themselves been seamstresses, dressmakers, tailoresses or ladies' tailors, or who knew individuals who had worked in one of the above occupations. Taped interviews were conducted with four individuals and verbatim transcripts were made of the interviews.

In order to broaden the search for oral history interview subjects, the notice regarding the research project was expanded to include individuals who had used the services of a seamstress, dressmaker, tailoress or ladies' tailor, and individuals who did sewing, dressmaking or tailoring for themselves and their families. The initial question set was expanded to include additional questions suggested in the interviews conducted as part of the pilot study. In addition, separate question sets were prepared specific to the interview subject (see Appendix B). Five separate question sets were developed - (a) one for individuals sewing for themselves and their families; (b) one for individuals who used the services of a seamstress, dressmaker, ladies' tailor or tailoress; (c) one for individuals who were themselves seamstresses, dressmakers, tailoresses or ladies' tailors; (d) one for individuals who worked as employees in a dressmaking or tailoring establishment; (e) and another for individuals who were homeworkers for a

ready-to-wear garment manufacturer. In conducting oral history interviews a combination of the above five question sets may also have been applicable.

To assess the representativeness of the 29-day sampling plan the sample obtained from the *Edmonton Journal* for every fifth year, beginning with 1905, was compared to the pilot study data for the same year. The 29-day sampling plan accounted for approximately 30% to 60% of the total population for a given year. For 1915, approximately 60% of the population was sampled; this year also had the lowest incidence of repeat advertisements. Twenty of the 26 years in the period 1905 to 1930 had 25% or more of the 29-day sample missing. The date to be sampled fell on a Sunday or no new advertisements found. Eliminating Sundays from the sample reduces the number of dates for which no new information was found to 20% of the sample for a given year.

Listings of dressmakers and ladies' tailors found in the business section of the *Henderson's Business Directory* were tabulated for the period 1904 to 1930. For the years 1910, 1920 and 1930 the alphabetical listing of names was used. All names listed with an occupation of seamstress, dressmaker or tailoress were recorded and compared to the separate listing in the business section. The alphabetical section yielded approximately three times as many names of seamstresses, dressmakers and tailoresses than the separate listings in the business section.

3.2 Data Collection

3.2.1 Newspaper Data

The population consisted of newspaper advertisements related to sewing, dressmaking and tailoring and homework for clothing manufacturers found in the *Edmonton Journal*, the *Edmonton Bulletin*, and the *Strathcona Plaindealer* for the period 1900 to 1930. A random number table was used to select 29 days from a 365 day year. Leap years during the period were determined then the corresponding days of the month were noted.

A systematic random sample was drawn using the selected days of the year for each of the years, 1900 to 1930, inclusive. Data collected from the *Edmonton Journal*

and the *Edmonton Bulletin* covered the period 1900 to 1930; data collected from the *Strathcona Plaindealer* covered the years, 1900 to 1912 (the year the paper ceased publication).

3.2.2 Oral History

In addition to the notice placed in the Senior's Section of the *Edmonton Journal* for the pilot study copies of the notice and a covering letter outlining the research were sent to senior citizen's homes and apartment buildings in the city. For the pilot study tape-recorded interviews were conducted by the researcher with four individuals. At a later date three additional tape-recorded interviews were conducted by the researcher.

Interview subjects were also solicited through the Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection using donor lists to identify potential interview candidates. One tape-recorded interview, two telephone interviews and one in-person interview not tape-recorded were conducted by the researcher.

Research for the Cold Weather Clothing Project conducted by the Historic Costume and Textile Collection included several oral history interviews. Although specific questions regarding dressmaking were not included in the questions asked of interviewees relevant information was uncovered. Three interviews from this research were included in the present study.

One additional tape-recorded interview in the Provincial Archives of Alberta collection (Silverman Tapes) contained relevant information and was therefore included in this study.

A complete list of oral history sources is given in the bibliography.

3.2.3 Henderson's Business Directory

The *Henderson's Business Directory* is divided into an alphabetical section which lists all adults responding to the door-to-door survey, and a business section which lists businesses and individuals under various headings. The names of dressmakers and ladies' tailors listed in the business section were recorded and tabulated for the years 1904 to 1930. Separate listings of ladies' tailors were seldom given; however, when listed the names were recorded. The list of tailors was used only as a corroborating source for

tailors listed in newspaper advertisements as ladies' tailors or as tailors working on women's garments.

The alphabetical section contains the names and addresses of the respondents with notice of an occupation in some cases. Nmaes for which the occupation of seamstress, dressmaker or tailoress was listed were recorded. the alphabetical section was sampled for the years 1910, 1920 and 1930.

3.2.4 Edmonton Telephone Directory

The *Edmonton Telephone Directory* was used for the years 1910 to 1923 as a supplementary source of names and addresses of sewers who advertised in a newspaper but gave a telephone number only. The *Edmonton Telephone Directory* prior to 1924 contains a sequential listing of telephone numbers and the first three letters of the user's surname. The alphabetical listing contains the name, address and telephone number as well as additional information such as occupation.

The name under which the telephone number was listed was recorded. In many instances the name given cannot be assumed to be the name of the individual who advertised the sewing services since no other information is given which would justify such a conclusion. Often a man's name is listed who may have been the husband, father or other relative of the advertiser. In some cases a telephone exchange for an apartment building is listed.

3.2.5 Archival Data

The Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection, the Provincial Archivesof Alberta, the City of Edmonton Archives and the Glenbow Museum were the collections visited. The researcher was particularly interested in diaries of tailoresses and dressmakers as well as individuals using their services, extant company records of tailoring and dressmaking establishments and dressmaking books and manuals.

Time constraints limited the research to a preliminary survey of obvious material such as dressmaking books and manuals. Little specific information was uncovered.

3.2.6 Preparation of Data for the SPSSx Program

A data file was compiled from three newspapers, the *Edmonton Journal*, the *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, and the *Strathcona Plaindealer*. Information taken from newspaper advertisements was coded using an extended coding format. Information taken from *Henderson's Business Directory* listings and *Edmonton Telephone Directory* listings was coded using a less detailed coding format. The data was entered into five SPSSx data files. The data files were copied to magnetic tape and made available to other researchers for future use.

For each variable to be coded specific values were assigned. Missing values were assigned for a documentary source which did not contain the information on a given variable. For recording purposes each specified value for a variable was assigned a corresponding numeric value label with the exception of the name and address of the sewer. Advertisements repeated from one sample day to the next were not coded more than once unless new information was added. For example, the first time an advertisement appeared for a given year it was coded; subsequent apppearances of the same asvertisement were not coded unless new information not previously coded was added. Two coding sheets were developed, one to code data from newspaper advertisements and oral history and one to code *Henderson's Business Directory* listings and information from the *Edmonton Telephone Directory*.

The coding rules and coding sheets are in Appendix A.

4. Findings

4.1 Assessment of Sources

4.1.1 Newspaper Advertisements

The following gaps appear in the sources used. The *Edmonton Journal* did not start publication until November 12, 1903. The *Strathcona Plaindealer* was published every Tuesday and Friday and microfilm of the paper is available for the years 1894 to 1896, 1899 to 1900, and 1907 to 1912 only. The *Edmonton Daily Bulletin* is not available for 1900 and was not published from July to November of 1925 due to a strike. Of the dates sampled for 1901 to 1903 most issues were missing; of the dates with an issue available no advertisements were found.

The number of advertisements found each year is in part a reflection of the development of the newspapers as a means of advertising services such as dressmaking. Changes such as the introduction of a "Dressmaking" heading in the classified advertising section may have encouraged sewers to advertise there. Advertising rates for inclusion in the classified section may have prohibited the use of advertising by some individuals. For example, in 1905 an advertisement not exceeding five lines in the *Edmonton Journal* or up to 25 words in the *Edmonton Bulletin* cost 25 cents for two days or 50 cents per week. A dressmaker working in 1908 may have earned $1.75 per day (1908/12/12 EJ); therefore, to place an advertisement in the *Edmonton Journal* or the *Edmonton Bulletin* for two days she would have had to spend 1/7 of a day's earnings.

In addition, newspapers directed their content to a specific readership. The *Edmonton Journal* was directed to a more elite population of middle- and upper-class citizens whereas the *Edmonton Daily Bulletin* was "meant to be read by farmers" (Betke, 1981, p.22) and was therefore somewhat limited in scope and readership. The considerably lower number of advertisements found in the *Edmonton Daily Bulletin* as compared to the *Edmonton Journal* indicates that the *Edmonton Daily Bulletin* was used less frequently to advertise sewing services. However, the sampling of the *Edmonton Daily Bulletin* and the *Strathcona Plaindealer* did produce information not

repeated in the *Edmonton Journal*.

Repetition from one newspaper to another was low. As well, less than 18% of the sample had a Strathcona address; therefore, had more issues of the *Strathcona Plaindealer* been available the numbers obtained may have been greater.

The newspaper data provides an estimate of the number of tailoresses, ladies' tailors, dressmakers and seamstresses in Edmonton who advertised their services. Newspaper advertisements also provide information on the names and addresses of sewers, their marital status, the type of work situation, the types of garments produced, other services provided and other workers employed.

4.1.2 Henderson's Business Directory

Table 4.1 shows a comparison of the number of dressmakers listed in the business section and in the alphabetical listing for 1910, 1920 and 1930. The number of tailoresses and seamstresses listed in the alphabetical section is also given for the same years. The table illustrates that different information regarding the number of dressmakers, tailoresses and seamstresses is obtained from each section. The cost of a separate lisitng in the business section of the directory limited inclusion to those who could afford it or felt the cost was justifed. There was no charge for the alphabetical listing.

Table 4.1 Henderson's Business Directory Comparison of Business Section & Alphabetical Listing of Tailoresses, Dressmakers & Seamstresses

		1910	1920	1930
Business Section[1]	Dressmakers	25	10	16
Alphabetical Listing[2]	Dressmakers	41	32	14
	Tailoresses[3]	12	38	03
	Seamstresses	03	09	28

[1]The business section lists ladies' tailors, primarily male, but does not list individual tailors and tailoresses working for the business. One tailoress, Emily Hohn, is named in the 1930 list of tailors.
[2]Names duplicated in the business section were eliminated from the total of names found in the alphabetical listing.
[3]The number of tailoresses represents those working on both women's and men's clothing. Eliminating those tailoresses working exclusively on men's clothing leaves eight (1910), 14 (1920) and zero (1930) tailoresses working on women's clothing. In 1920, ten tailoresses worked for Kay's, a men's custom tailoring establishment ,which also made shirtwaists (1919/01/25 EJ) and did pleating, hemstitching, picoting and buttonholing.

The *Henderson's Business Directory* listing of dressmakers and ladies' tailors is available from 1904 to 1930. The *Henderson's Business Directory* contains listings of dressmakers, tailors - including men and women, and ladies' tailors. Separate listings of tailors and ladies' tailors are not given every year. The name of the business or individual, the address and, in later years, the telephone number are listed. Entries are sometimes repeated under different headings.

The alphabetical section lists the name, residential address, occupation, and place of employment of all adults, and in some cases, whether the individual is a householder or boarder, whether a woman is a widow and who her husband was, and the name of the employer.

Table 4.2 outlines the composition of the sample taken from the *Edmonton Journal*, the *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, the *Strathcona Plaindealer*, and the *Henderson's Business Directory*.

Table 4.2 Composition of the Sample Taken from Newspapers and Henderson's Business Directory

Year	EDMONTON JOURNAL			EDMONTON BULLETIN			STRATHCONA PLAINDEALER			HENDERSON'S
	Ads	Days With New Ads[1]	Missing Days[2]	Ads	Days With New Ads	Missing Days	Ads	Days With New Ads	Missing Days	Ads
1900	--	--	--	--	--	--	00	00	00	--
1901	--	--	--	00	00	29	--	--	--	--
1902	--	--	--	00	00	29	--	--	--	--
1903	--	--	--	00	00	29	--	--	--	--
1904	09	07	11	05	05	23	--	--	--	03
1905	08	06	18	08	08	21	--	--	--	08
1906	10	07	20	05	04	23	--	--	--	08
1907	31	10	10	10	06	16	00	00	00	04
1908	26	17	08	11	07	22	00	00	00	18
1909	22	16	11	06	04	22	05	05	07	12
1910	35	18	08	07	05	21	03	03	09	26
1911	41	20	06	07	05	20	02	02	01	09
1912	62	20	03	06	04	18	04	04	07	10
1913	97	21	07	08	04	23	--	--	--	15
1914	62	21	07	25	16	07	--	--	--	31
1915	73	27	01	10	09	02	--	--	--	23
1916	71	23	06	10	08	14	--	--	--	48
1917	42	17	05	06	04	07	--	--	--	22
1918	53	23	02	09	08	08	--	--	--	09*
1919	45	18	05	14	07	15	--	--	--	25
1920	71	25	03	06	05	16	--	--	--	17
1921	91	26	02	08	08	04	--	--	--	09
1922	63	21	05	06	06	05	--	--	--	23
1923	34	16	05	04	01	17	--	--	--	24
1924	40	19	05	02	02	26	--	--	--	22
1925	37	19	06	--	--	17	--	--	--	20
1926	31	16	01	11	08	03	--	--	--	16
1927	29	18	02	11	09	07	--	--	--	15
1928	33	18	05	10	08	06	--	--	--	18
1929	33	15	03	15	10	06	--	--	--	12
1930	28	17	06	08	05	10	--	--	--	18

[1]Number of days in 28-day sample which yielded new advertisements
[2]Number of days in 28-day sample for which no newspaper was available.
[--] denotes dates for which the newspaper was not available.
*Indicates ladies' tailors only

The table indicates the dates for which issues of a given newspaper were not available. For each newspaper sampled the number of days with new advertisements and the number of missing days is given for each year as well as the number of individual advertisements resulting from the number of days yielding new advertisements. The number of cases indicated for the *Henderson's Business Directory* refers to the names listed in the business section only and not to those in the alphabetical section. Duplication of names among sources was not accounted for in this table.

The table shows that no information was obtained from these sources for the years 1900 to 1903. The *Edmonton Journal* for the years 1904 to 1930 contained the greatest number of advertisements of the three newspapers. The *Edmonton Bulletin* and the *Strathcona Plaindealer* contained fewer advertisements but revealed information not found in the *Edmonton Journal*. The *Strathcona Plaindealer* was a useful additional source for the years 1909 to 1912.

4.1.3 Edmonton Telephone Directory

The *Edmonton Telephone Directory* was used for the years 1910 to 1923 to find names and addresses for newspaper advertisements which listed a telephone number only. The *Edmonton Telephone Directory* prior to 1924 contains a sequential listing of telephone numbers and the first three letters of the user's surname. The alphabetical listing contains the name, address and telephone number, and occasionally a notice of occupation, for example, dressmaker. The section entitled "business directory" has a list of dressmakers and tailors, although it is a less complete listing than that found in the *Henderson's Business Directory*. In 1924 sequential listing of all telephone numbers, accompanied by the first three letters of the users' name, was discontinued.

4.1.4 Census of Canada

The *Census of Canada, 1901, Vol. 3, Manufactures* stated, in the instructions to enumerators, that "no manufacturing establishment or factory will be so recognized for census purposes which does not employ at least five persons, either in the establishment itself or as piece-workers employed out of it' (p. *vi*). It was also noted

that "the plan [for enumeration] ... served the purpose of keeping the statistics of the hand and domestic trades - such as ... dressmaking, spinning, ... tailoring and weaving - out of the statistics for manufacturing establishments" (*Census of Canada 1901*, Vol. 3, p. *vi*).

The *Census of Canada, 1911, Vol 3, Manufactures* followed the same definitions of a manufacturing establishment or factory which included "clothing, men's, custom; clothing, men's, factory; clothing, women's, custom; and clothing, women's, factory" (p. *viii*). However, no manufactures of clothing were reported for Alberta in 1911.

The *Census of Canada, 1911, Vol. 6, Occupations* specifically remarked on the transition to the factory system, the subsequent division of labour and the resulting changes in the collection and reporting of census data. As an example it was noted:

> a person may be employed in the making of men's clothes and yet in no sense be entitled to be classed as a tailor, in the proper sense of the term. Similarly, a woman may spend many years in an establishment devoted to the making of women's clothing and still be incapable of satisfying the ordinary demands of dressmaking, and as previously stated ... all workers had to be classified as belonging to an industry rather than to a specific occupation or trade (p. *xi*).

To further confuse the matter, Tuchscherer (1973) cited the *Wages and Regularity of Employment in the Dress and Waist Industry of 1914*, published by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, which stated:

> Dressmakers are operatives of the highest skill, for they are required to make an entire dress including both the hand and machine sewing as well as the draping. Dressmakers are employed on high-grade dresses and gowns only (p. 73).

The ambiguity inherent in the terminology should be considered in any interpretation of numbers obtained from census data. Information from other sources, for example, newspaper advertisements, can be used to clarify the terminology. For example, a dressmaker operating a dressmaking establishment which employs other sewers may more accurately be called a dressmaker than a woman doing piecework at home.

Dressmakers, tailors and tailoresses are listed as manufacturers of clothing and allied products whereas seamstresses are listed as performing a domestic or personal service (*Census of Canada, 1911, Vol. 6, Occupations*). This distribution suggests that dressmakers, tailors and tailoresses were involved specifically in the custom or factory production of clothing whereas seamstresses, although they may also have made clothing, performed the less formal sewing activities, such as sewing by the day in the

customer's home.

The "Glossary of Terms" for the *Census of Canada, 1911* defined "clothing, women's, custom" to include "dress and mantle making, millinery and repairing" and "clothing, women's, factory" to include "costumes, shirt waists, skirts, skirt-binding, whitewear and wrappers". Unfortunately, the definitions assume a knowledge of the style of garments at the time and of the underlying difference in the process of making the various garments. For example, one would have to have a familiarity with the style of garment being produced and the construction process used to make it in order to understand the production system suitable and the amount of skill required. Garments with a few simple pieces and little trimming, such as underwear (whitewear) and wrappers, would require less skill to construct and would be more readily adapted to the piecework system of factory production. A dress, depending on the complexity of the design, would be more profitably produced by a modified piecework system or in a custom situation where all or a large part of the garment is constructed by one person. As a result, in order to make a useful distinction between custom and factory manufacture, a knowledge of the process and the type of garment being produced is necessary.

Thompson and Seager (1985) noted "the enumerators of the Sixth Dicennial Census [1921] were mercenaries paid a bounty of five cents for every Canadian captured for the national inventory" (p. 1). They also noted that "underenumeration was unlikely" however "in Regina four enumerators were prosecuted for padding the lists with fictitious names" (Thompson & Seager, p. 2). The accuracy of the figures is, therefore, questionable. In addition married women may have been significantly under represented in the figures for gainfully occupied females since they were more likely to report their occupation as housewife rather than a more specific occupation.

The *Census of Canada, 1921, Vol. 4, Occupations* stated, in the instructions to enumerators, that:

> Dressmakers, washerwomen, laundresses or other persons of similar occupation who work out by the day are employees, but if they perform the work in their own home or shop they are to be classed as working on their own account unless they employ helpers, in which case they are to be returned as employers (p. *xi*).

Detailed information of this nature is not available in published census records.

Individuals undertaking piecework at home were classed as wage earners "whether employed under contract or agreement with a manufacturer or other employer of labour or as help to the person so employed" (*Census of Canada 1921*, Vol. 4, p. *xii*). As a result homewokrers cannot be distinguished from other wage earners. It is possible, however, to distinguish wage earners from individuals who were employers or worked on their own account.

The same method of enumeration was used for the *Census of Canada, 1931*. The method of reporting the results was different than that used in 1921. Separate categories are listed for dressmakers and seamstresses.

The *Census of Merchandising and Service Establishments, 1931* noted a distinction between custom tailors and made-to-measure clothing stores:

> The former are tailoring establishments where garments are made to order on the premises. The latter are often retail outlets for manufacturing establishments and, while samples of cloth are carried and customers fitted in the stores, the garments are made in a factory. Dressmakers and ladies' tailors provide for women the same services as custom tailors offer to men (p. *xii*).

Both were classified as "Other Apparel Stores" therefore, the number of custom establishments alone cannot be determined from these figures. Thompson and Seager (1985) noted that "Canadian industry had become so complex that enumerators employed on a temporary basis were simply unable to deal with it" (p. 10). Any assessment of the Canadian garment industry should bear this in mind.

4.1.5 Oral History Interviews

Oral history sources include tape recorded and telephone interviews conducted by the researcher, and interviews, not tape recorded, conducted for the Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection, and the Cold Weather Clothing Project. A total of 16 subjects are included in the interviews. A complete list of interview subjects is given in the bibliography.

Oral history interviews provide information not garnered from other sources; for example, interviews can provide details about the methods of garment production, sources of fashion information, how sewing skills were learned, quality of sewing skills, methods of business operation and the allocation of work within the business, changes in a business during periods of general economic decline, the management of a

home-based business, work in the customer's home, sewing in exchange for other services and the interaction of work and personal life.

Oral history interviews can also furnish qualitative information, for example, on the social aspects of sewing for people in their own homes, on the personal reasons for conducting a private business and on the individual perceptions of the workplace. Oral history can convey feelings, for instance, of pride; many sewers expressed pride in the fact that garments were often copied from illustrations using only a basic pattern or a pattern drafting system.

Oral history can reveal generally held ideas or attitudes, for example, that "all women learned how to sew" or that it was a "done" thing, in the city, to have a dressmaker come to your home. In interviews conducted for this study attitudes toward the role of women and how employment fit this role, while they were often a reflection of individual circumstances, generally conformed to societal strictures. The women worked until marriage or worked in the home after marriage, and married women did not work except on an exchange basis, if their husbands could adequately provide for the family. Ideas and attitudes expressed in oral history may be refuted or substantiated by evidence gained from other sources, for example, newspaper advertisements, business directories and archival records.

Details from oral history interviews used in this study will be discussed further in the discussion.

4.2 Summary of Findings

4.2.1 Number of Sewers Derived from the Census of Canada

According to the census the number of females gainfully occupied in the manufacture of clothing in Edmonton for 1921 and 1931 is given in Table 4.3. Similar categories of information were not used in the 1911 census, therefore, the figures for 1911 were not included. The number of gainfully occupied is divided into wage earners and others - employers, those working on their own account, and those not paid, for example, apprentices.

Table 4.3 Females Gainfully Occupied in the Manufacture of Clothing, Edmonton 1921 and 1931

	1921			1931		
	GO	WE	OT	GO	WE	OT
Tailoresses	10	09	01	17	16	01
Dressmakers/Seamstresses	105	37	68	133	58	75
Apprentice Dressmakers	12	08	04	08	00	00
Factory Operatives	106	104	02	148	146	02

GO=Gainfully Occupied, WE=Wage Earners, OT=Other i.e. Employer, Working on Own Account, or Not Paid.
(Census of Canada 1921, Vol. 3, Table 40; Vol. 4, Table 5;
Census of Canada 1931, Vol. 5, Table 36; Vol. 7, Table 43).

The table indicates that the number of dressmakers and seamstresses was greater than the number of tailoresses and apprentice dressmakers but was exceeded by the number of factory operatives each year. Almost all of the factory operatives and tailoresses were wage earners whereas a majority of the dressmakers and seamstresses were either employers or worked on their own account. However, the number of dressmakers and seamstresses listed as wage earners for 1931 comprised a greater proportion of all dressmakers and seamstresses than in 1921. Apprentice dressmakers were either wage earners or were not paid for their work.

4.2.2 Estimated Number of Sewers Derived from Other Sources

The estimated number of sewers was derived from a combination of the sources: the *Edmonton Journal*, the *Edmonton Daily Bulletin*, the *Strathcona Plaindealer*, *Henderson's Business Directory*, and oral history. To avoid overlap between sources the small number of sewers was identified and counted once. The method of coding information from newspaper advertisements did not allow for repetition resulting from a change in the content of the advertisement, for example, a change of address. At the same time the coding method did not account for advertisements not specifically naming more than one individual. It was assumed that the repetition in the first instance and the omission in the second instance might be approximately equal; therefore, allowance was made for repetition between sources only The estimated number of sewers as derived from all sources sampled is given in Table 4.4 which follows on the next page.

Table 4.4 Estimated Number of Sewers Derived from Newspaper Advertisements, Henderson's and Oral History

YEAR	Tailoresses				Ladies' Tailors				Dressmakers				Seamstresses				TO
	NA	HBD	OH	TO	NA	HBD	OH	TO	NA	HBD	OH	TO	NA	HBD	OH	TO	
1904	04	--	--	04	02	01	--	03	06	03	-	09	05	--	--	05	21
1905	02	02	--	04	01	00	--	01	09	08	-	17	04	--	--	04	26
1906	01	02	--	03	00	00	--	00	11	08	-	19	02	--	--	02	24
1907	05	--	--	05	01	00	--	01	23	04	-	27	11	--	--	11	44
1908	04	--	--	04	00	00	--	00	16	18	-	34	14	--	--	14	52
1909	02	--	--	02	01	00	--	01	21	12	-	33	08	--	--	08	44
1910	07	--	--	07	00	00	--	00	21	26	01	48	07	--	--	07	62
1911	03	--	--	03	02	00	--	02	28	09	01	38	19	--	--	19	62
1912	08	--	--	08	02	00	--	02	49	35	01	85	12	--	--	12	107
1913	20	--	--	20	04	01	--	05	69	19	01	89	14	--	--	14	128
1914	16	--	--	16	04	02	--	06	51	28[1]	01	80	11	--	--	11	113
1915	16	--	--	16	03	01	--	04	59	22	01	82	07	--	--	07	109
1916	12	01	--	13	08	00	--	08	59	46	01	106	06	--	--	06	127
1917	07	--	--	07	02	00	--	02	26	23	01	50	11	--	--	11	70
1918	02	--	--	02	02	00	--	02	42	--	01	43	16	--	--	16	63
1919	11	--	--	11	03	00	--	03	38	18	02	58	07	--	02	09	81
1920	08	--	--	08	02	00	--	02	55	10	02	67	12	--	02	14	91
1921	08	01	--	09	02	01	--	02	70	07	06	83	21	--	02	23	117
1922	08	--	--	08	01	00	--	01	50	20	06	76	09	--	02	11	96
1923	05	02	--	07	02	02	--	03	26	21	06	53	06	--	02	08	71
1924	03	02	--	05	00	01	--	01	31	12	07	50	06	--	01	07	63
1925	06	01	--	07	00	00	--	00	22	18	07	47	08	--	01	09	63
1926	06	01	--	07	02	00	--	02	29	15	07	51	04	--	01	05	65
1927	04	01	--	05	03	00	--	03	26	14	07	47	06	--	01	07	62
1928	04	01	--	05	00	01	--	01	36	16	07	59	07	--	01	08	73
1929	06	00	--	06	02	00	--	02	32	12	07	51	12	--	01	13	72
1930	04	01	--	05	00	01	--	01	21	16	10	47	11	--	01	12	65

[1]There are three male dressmakers included in this figure.

Note: The figure for Ladies' Tailors is for male Ladies' Tailors only although women also called themselves Ladies' Tailors. Female Ladies' Tailors are included with tailoresses.

NA=newspapers, HBD=Henderson's, OH=Oral History, TO=Total.

-- indicates no source for that date

Table 4.5 shows a comparison of the estimated number of sewers and the census figures for the years 1911, 1921 and 1931.

Table 4.5 Comparison of Estimated Number of Sewers & Census Figures for 1911, 1921 and 1931, Edmonton

Estimate		1910/11	TO	1920/21	TO	1930/31	TO
Tailoresses	NA	07		08		04	
	HBD	12	19	38	46	03	07
	OH	00		00		00	
Dressmakers	NA	21		55		21	
	HBD	66	88	42	99	30	61
	OH	01		02		10	
Seamstresses	NA	07		12		11	
	HBD	03	10	10	23	35	40
	OH	00		02		01	
TOTAL			117		168		108
Census							
Tailoresses		13		10		17	
Dressmakers		85		105		111	
Seamstresses		07[1]		--[2]		22	
Apprentice Dressmakers		--[3]		12		08	
TOTAL			105		127		158

[1]Other clothing makers.
[2]Seamstresses are combined with dressmakers.
[3]Not recorded for that date.
Figures for tailoresses and seamstresses include women working on men's clothing.
NA=Newspaper Advertisements, HBD=Henderson's Business Directory, OH=Oral History, TO=Total.

Each census was taken in June for the previous calendar year, for example, the Census of 1911 was taken in June, 1911 for the calendar year 1910 (Census of Canada 1911, Vol. 3, p. *v*); therefore, census figures for 1911, 1921 and 1931 are compared to data from newspaper advertisements, *Henderson's Business Directory*, and oral history for 1910, 1920 and 1930. After accounting for the repetition of names and addresses between newspaper advertisements and *Henderson's*, and estimate was made of the number of tailoresses, dressmakers and seamstresses working in Edmonton. The numbers thus derived were compared with the corresponding census figures.

The estimated number of dressmakers and seamstresses is slightly greater than the census figures for 1911 and 1921, and slightly less for 1931. Of the estimated

number of dressmakers and seamstresses in 1910, 49 worked on their own account, nine worked for another dressmaker, and eight worked for a retail outlet (Hudson's Bay Co.). In 1920, 31 dressmakers worked on their own account, nine for another dressmaker, and two for a retail outlet. By 1930, 23 dressmakers worked on their own account, three for another dressmaker, and four for retail.

The dressmakers working for another dressmaker were divided among six different employers in 1910. By 1920, only two dressmakers employed the nine dressmakers listed as working for another dressmaker (Miss Jean S. Gemmell employed eight of them in 1920 but only one by 1930).

Seamstresses worked in a variety of situations: for a tailor, a dressmaker, a hospital or hotel, for retail and on their own account. By 1930, seamstresses had gravitated toward work for a tailor or work in a hospital. The Royal Alexandra Hospital employed seven seamstresses in 1930, the General Hospital two, and the University Hospital one.

The estimated number of tailoresses is higher than that recorded by the census for 1911 and 1921. In 1920, 36 more tailoresses were recorded in the sources used for the estimate compared to the ten recorded in the census. Of the 38 recorded by the *Henderson's Business Directory*, 18 worked for a tailor of men's clothing, 13 worked for ladies' tailors, two worked for a drycleaner, and two worked on their own account. Of the ten recorded in the census, nine were wage earners and one worked either as an employer or on her own account.

The estimated number of tailoresses for 1930 is significantly lower than the 1920 figure and less than the number recorded in the census of 1931. While the census shows an increase in numbers from 1921 to 1931 the estimate shows a drastic decline in numbers. It is interesting to note that where the census records fewer tailoresses in 1921 it records fewer seamstresses in 1931 compared to the respective estimated figures. The change in numbers may be due to a change in terminology used to designate a sewer; for example, two women listed as tailoresses in the 1920 *Henderson's* were called seamstresses in the 1930 directory although they both still worked for the same company. There may not have been consistency in the use of terminology by the agency collecting the information.

A comparison of the census with other sources such as newspaper advertisements, *Henderson's Business Directory*, and oral history is valid not only to illustrate the difference and similarity in numbers obtained but also to point out the strengths and weaknesses of the information sources. As mentioned, the census and a combination of the three other sources record a different composition of sewers.

As indicated by Table 4.6 less than 19% of the total female population was gainfully occupied; however, the percentage had increased from 1921 to 1931 The number of females gainfully occupied in the manufacture of clothing increased from 1921 to 1931 and in far greater numbers than males in the same sector. On the other hand, females gainfully occupied in clothing maufacture and the estimated number of sewers considered as a percentage of the gainfully occupied female population declined from 1921 to 1931.

Table 4.6 A Comparison of the Gainfully Occupied Population, the Gainfully Occupied in the Manufacture of Clothing and the Estimated Number of Sewers for Edmonton 1911, 1921 and 1931.

	Sex	1911	1921	1931
Population	F	13,631	29,212	39,267
	M	17,433	29,609	39,930
Gainfully Occupied Population	F	--	4,332	7,236
	M	--	17,399	24,552
% of Total Population	F	--	14.8	18.4
	M	--	65.0	61.5
Number Gainfully Occupied in Clothing Manufacture	F	--	233	306
	M	--	68	112
% of Gainfully Occupied Population	F	--	5.4	4.2
	M	--	0.4	0.5
Estimated Number Sewers[3]	F	117	168	158
% of Gainfully Occupied Population	F	--	2.7	0.8

[1]Includes Strathcona and villages of North and East Edmonton. [2]Gainfully occupied population by definition includes only those individuals over 10 years of age.
[3]1910, 1920 and 1930 estimated number.
(Census of Canada 1911, Vol. 6, pp. 376-377; Census of Canada 1921, Vol. 4, pp. 368-369; Census of Canada 1931, Vol. 4, p. 268).

4.2.3 Summary of Results from the Analysis of the Newspaper Data

The results are summarized in table form for each of the variables: the newspaper section in which the advertisement appears, the sex and marital status of the advertiser, the skill level of the advertiser, the type of sewing advertised, the type of garment advertised, the detail of location information given, the work situation advertised, other workers advertised, and the other services advertised. Tables 4.7 through 4.15 summarize this information. A brief interpretation of each table will be given.

4.2.4 Placement of Advertisements in the Newspaper

The placement of advertisements seems to reflect changes in the structure of the newspaper more than changes in the use of advertisements as a method of promotion. The majority of advertisers relied on the wording of the advertisement to distinguish them, instead of placement of the advertisment in a prominent position in the newspaper. The cost of an advertisement placed outside the Classified section may have restricted this type of advertising to the better established businesses with money to spend on special advertisements. The majority of advertisements appear in the classified section under specific headings such as "Dressmaking", "Tailor - Ladies'", "Situation Wanted - Female", and "Situation Vacant - Female".

In addition to Parisian names, dressmakers and ladies' tailors used indicators of skill and style to promote their services:

> Madame Brown, late of Montreal, French system of dress cutting and dress making. 1112 Ottawa, corner Morris. Phone 4932 (1912/01/05 EJ).

> Madame Zara Sylvester, Ladies' tailoring and dressmaking. Formerly of Paquin, London, England and Mlle. Louise, Toronto. Gowns to order (1919/02/26 EB);

and:

> Madame Floquet, first class Parisian milliner and dressmaker; come and see her new models from Paris. Suite 54 Alberta Block, Jasper (1913/10/08 EJ).

Occasionally, terms such as "Costumier", "Court Dressmaker", and "modiste" were used to lend cachet to the advertiser.

Forbes-Taylor Company Costumiers and Ladies' Tailors. Suits, riding habits, separate coats. Import Milliners. 415 Jasper Avenue West (1915/04/03 EJ);

Miss Allen, Court Dressmaker, late of Kensington, England desires work at home. Terms Cash, 527 Sutherland Street. Phone 4130 (1911/10/06 EJ);

and:

Madame Meyer - The Modiste & Designer
Originality - Style - Individuality
Room 24 Morris Block. Phone 4583.
268 Jasper Avenue East
(1913/06/03 EJ).

Business establishments used advertising frequently and appear to have had an understanding of the value of advertising. Advertisements placed by ladies' tailoring and dressmaking establishments were changed often to promote different aspects of the business. Other advertisers appear to have used notices to introduce themselves and establish a clientele; word-of-mouth and repeat custom were then relied on. The cost of advertising may have limited the amount and frequency of advertising by many dressmakers. The use of repeat advertisements or once-only advertisements may also illustrate a difference in attitude toward advertising between ladies' tailoring and dressmaking establishments and other dressmakers.

Table 4.7 shows the number of advertisements placed in the various sections of the newspaper over the period studied.

Table 4.7 Placement of Advertisements in the Newspaper

	With news item	Classified - Personal	Classified - Sit Vacant	Classified - Sit Wanted	Classified - Business Cards	Classified - Dressmaking	Classified - Misc Wants	Classified - Ladies' Tailor	Classified - Too Late to Classify	Classified - Domestic Science
1904	08	--	01	--	--	02	03	--	--	--
1905	10	--	--	02	01	--	03	--	--	--
1906	06	--	02	04	--	02	01	--	--	--
1907	09	--	08	10	--	--	12	--	01	--
1908	--	--	04	13	--	09	04	--	04	--
1909	05	--	12	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1910	05	--	09	11	01	01	05	--	--	--
1911	--	--	16	13	02	01	04	--	01	--
1912	05	--	11	10	--	42	02	--	--	02
1913	05	--	20	09	--	61	--	03	05	01
1914	--	01	09	12	--	61	--	03	01	--
1915	09	02	05	07	--	59	--	--	01	--
1916	11	01	13	01	--	51	--	02	02	--
1917	02	--	15	06	--	20	--	02	02	--
1918	02	--	18	09	--	33	--	--	--	--
1919	05	--	23	10	04	16	--	01	--	--
1920	05	04	08	11	--	49	--	--	--	--
1921	07	01	18	11	--	62	--	--	--	--
1922	06	01	11	09	--	42	--	--	--	--
1923	05	--	04	11	--	18	--	--	--	--
1924	--	--	01	09	--	32	--	--	--	--
1925	--	--	04	11	--	22	--	--	--	--
1926	02	--	06	07	--	25	--	02	--	--
1927	02	01	04	05	--	28	--	--	--	--
1928	01	03	04	05	--	29	--	--	--	--
1929	04	01	03	11	--	29	--	--	--	--
1930	--	16	04	08	--	08	--	--	--	--

-- indicates that no information was found for that date.

4.2.5 Sex and Marital Status of the Advertisers

Table 4.8 notes the percentage of advertisements with the sex and marital status of the advertiser indicated. The majority of advertisers were female. All male advertisers were ladies' tailors. The *Henderson's Business Directory*, however, does list male dressmakers - Lorenzo Belanger, Ray Boone, Wyatt Taylor and Louie A. Whitman in 1914 and Julien Chambe in 1920.

Table 4.8 Sex and Marital Status of Advertisers

Year	Sex			Marital Status		
	Female	Male	# Ads[1]	Single	Married	# Ads[1]
1904	10	--	10/14	05	04	9/14
1905	11	--	11/16	--	10	10/16
1906	09	--	9/15	05	02	7/15
1907	22	--	22/40	12	04	16/40
1908	16	--	16/34	04	05	9/34
1909	15	01	16/33	07	04	11/33
1910	23	--	23/35	10	04	14/35
1911	26	--	26/50	03	09	12/50
1912	38	01	39/72	07	18	25/72
1913	58	01	59/105	12	19	31/105
1914	50	04	54/87	14	19	33/87
1915	39	01	40/83	15	12	27/83
1916	41	03	44/81	10	17	27/81
1917	28	02	30/47	01	06	7/47
1918	37	02	39/62	01	09	10/62
1919	44	03	47/59	03	08	11/59
1920	39	01	40/77	02	14	16/77
1921	44	01	45/99	06	11	17/99
1922	29	01	30/69	02	07	9/69
1923	18	01	19/38	01	02	3/38
1924	14	--	14/42	--	04	4/42
1925	22	--	22/37	01	06	7/37
1926	18	02	20/42	03	03	6/42
1927	12	03	15/40	01	03	4/40
1928	15	--	15/43	--	06	6/43
1929	24	--	24/48	--	09	9/48
1930	17	--	17/36	--	04	4/36

[1]The number of advertisements which indicate sex and marital status compared to the total number of advertisements for that year.
[2]-- indicates that no information was found for that date.

In the cases for which marital status could be determined the number of single women prior to 1911 is greater than the number of married women; the reverse is true after 1911 (with the exception of 1905 and 1915). However, because of the problem with incomplete information on marital status, only general conclusions can be drawn

with regards to this sample. It is likely that, as with census data, married women are significantly underrepresented in newspaper advertisements as well. They may have used informal means of advertising their sewing skills such as by word-of-mouth.

4.2.6 Highest Skill Level Advertised and the Type of Sewing Advertised

Each sewing activity was ranked by the researcher according to the level of skill required and ordered beginning with the activity requiring the greatest amount of skill. To design and execute a garment required more skill than to make a garment from a commercial pattern as some dressmakers may have done. Tailoring required additional skills beyond those a dressmaker would have, for example, tailors required a knowledge of the complicated inner construction of tailored garments. Advertisements listing "children's sewing", or "sewing" were recorded as plain sewing. Children's clothing involved simpler construction and the various assistants to dressmaking usually worked on part of the garment only and at specific tasks. Plain sewing is most often associated in advertisements with mending and repairing, indicating that this sewing activity was associated with a lower skill level than that required for dressmaking and tailoring.

The skill level of the advertiser as recorded does not indicate the various other sewing activities advertised along with the activity requiring the greatest amount of skill. The coding format did, however, allow multiple responses for the type of sewing activity advertised. Therefore, if tailoring, dressmaking and plain sewing were all listed in one advertisement the skill level would be recorded as tailoring and the type of sewing advertised would be all three activities. Analysis of the data for the type of sewing reveals more detailed information on the various sewing activities advertised.

Dressmaking is the sewing activity advertised most often during the period. Plain sewing and tailoring were the second most advertised sewing activities. Tailoring was advertised most often during the years when tailored garments were fashionable, 1912 through 1922. Apart from indicating the general skill level of the advertiser the terminology was used as a selling point to promote the advertiser's services; therefore, in some instances the term used may not have accurately reflected the advertiser's skill level. Terms, such as "designer," "family sewing," "dressmaking lessons," and "remodelling" were used with "dressmaker" and "seamstress". Individuals who may

otherwise have called themselves dressmakers or seamstresses used other terms when they wanted to distinguish their services from that of other advertisers. The terminology used may also have been an adjustment made to changing demand.

The majority of advertisements for alteration services were placed by retail clothing outlets indicating that the work probably involved ready-to-wear clothing. The advertisement of hemstitching, picoting, buttonholing and pleating services give notice of the introduction of new technology into Edmonton.

Table 4.9 shows the number of advertisements for each year classified by the highest skill level listed in the advertisement.

Table 4.9 Highest Skill Level Advertised

	Designing	Cutting	Tailoring	Dressmaking	Plain Sewing	Family Sewing	Remodelling	Alterations	Lessons	Hemstitching
1904	--	02	04	04	05	--	--	--	--	--
1905	--	01	02	08	04	--	--	--	--	--
1906	--	--	01	11	02	--	--	--	--	--
1907	--	--	05	23	11	--	--	--	--	--
1908	--	02	04	14	14	--	--	--	--	--
1909	--	02	03	18	08	--	--	01	01	--
1910	--	--	07	21	18	07	--	--	--	--
1911	--	02	03	25	19	--	--	01	--	--
1912	--	01	09	47	12	--	--	01	01	--
1913	01	01	21	63	14	--	01	--	02	--
1914	--	03	20	53	11	--	--	--	--	--
1915	01	02	17	56	07	--	--	--	--	--
1916	01	01	15	54	06	--	--	02	01	--
1917	--	--	09	24	11	--	--	02	--	--
1918	--	--	04	41	16	01	--	--	--	01
1919	--	01	14	32	07	03	--	01	--	01
1920	01	01	09	47	12	04	--	02	--	--
1921	02	02	09	65	21	--	--	01	--	--
1922	02	01	09	47	09	--	01	--	--	--
1923	--	--	06	25	06	--	--	01	--	--
1924	--	--	04	31	06	--	--	--	--	--
1925	01	--	06	20	08	--	--	01	--	--
1926	03	--	08	24	04	--	--	02	--	01
1927	--	--	07	24	06	01	--	01	--	--
1928	01	01	04	37	09	--	03	10	--	01
1929	01	01	06	30	12	--	--	--	01	--
1930	--	--	04	21	11	--	--	--	--	--

-- indicates that no information was found for that date.

Table 4.10 shows the number of advertisements for each year which list one or more types of sewing.

Table 4.10 Type of Sewing Advertised

	Designing	Cutting	Tailoring	Dressmaking	Plain Sewing	Family Sewing	Remodelling	Alterations	Lessons	Hemstitching
1904	--	01	05	05	06	--	--	--	--	--
1905	--	01	02	09	06	--	--	01	01	--
1906	--	--	01	12	03	--	--	--	--	--
1907	--	--	05	26	11	--	--	--	--	--
1908	--	02	04	19	14	--	--	--	02	--
1909	--	02	03	22	13	--	--	01	04	--
1910	--	--	07	25	10	--	--	--	--	--
1911	--	02	03	27	24	--	02	02	--	--
1912	--	01	09	52	17	--	--	02	02	--
1913	01	01	21	75	22	--	01	03	04	01
1914	--	03	20	69	14	--	--	01	03	--
1915	01	02	18	72	12	--	02	--	01	--
1916	01	01	16	62	08	--	--	05	02	--
1917	--	--	09	26	14	--	--	02	--	--
1918	--	--	04	42	18	01	01	03	--	01
1919	--	01	16	34	15	05	--	01	--	02
1920	01	01	10	51	18	04	03	09	--	--
1921	02	02	10	74	41	--	03	03	01	--
1922	02	01	11	54	20	--	06	02	--	--
1923	--	--	06	27	16	--	--	01	--	--
1924	--	--	04	34	10	--	02	02	--	--
1925	01	--	06	25	09	--	03	02	--	--
1926	03	01	08	31	05	--	03	03	--	01
1927	--	--	07	29	09	01	06	02	--	--
1928	01	01	04	37	09	--	03	10	--	01
1929	01	01	06	37	15	--	02	02	02	01
1930	--	--	04	25	15	--	05	03	01	--

-- indicates that no information was found for that date.

A comparison of Table 4.9 with Table 4.10 will indicate the number of advertisements which listed more than one type of sewing in addition to the type of sewing which required the most skill.

4.2.7 Type of Garment Advertised

Table 4.11 outlines the number of advertisements each year which listed a specific garment type.

Table 4.11 Type of Garment Advertised

	Tailored	Outer	Evening Wear	Dress/Frock	Blouses/Waists	Skirts	Undergarments	Children's	Gentlemen's	All Kinds	Ready-to-wear*	Other
1904	02	01	--	--	--	01	01	02	--	01	--	--
1905	01	--	03	03	--	--	--	--	01	04	02	--
1906	02	--	03	02	02	01	--	01	--	01	--	--
1907	02	02	02	01	03	01	01	04	01	02	03	--
1908	02	02	01	01	01	01	--	01	01	01	--	--
1909	--	02	01	01	02	02	--	05	--	02	01	--
1910	01	01	01	05	04	03	02	06	01	01	02	--
1911	04	03	03	03	05	02	--	03	01	01	02	--
1912	08	07	04	05	03	03	03	05	01	--	03	--
1913	10	09	01	06	04	07	--	05	03	01	07	--
1914	08	06	12	04	03	02	--	09	03	01	03	--
1915	05	06	04	12	03	04	--	10	--	01	--	01
1916	10	10	07	13	09	05	--	05	01	01	01	--
1917	02	08	01	08	02	02	--	05	01	--	03	01
1918	03	07	--	07	--	--	--	04	--	02	01	--
1919	03	07	04	06	01	01	--	05	02	--	04	--
1920	08	10	06	06	--	02	01	08	02	03	02	01
1921	04	03	07	04	--	01	01	15	02	08	06	--
1922	08	20	03	07	01	04	--	09	01	01	--	--
1923	01	01	--	01	--	--	--	02	04	--	03	--
1924	01	--	01	01	02	--	--	08	--	04	05	--
1925	02	02	01	02	--	--	01	10	--	01	07	--
1926	02	01	--	03	--	--	--	07	01	--	06	02
1927	01	01	--	--	--	--	01	05	03	01	03	--
1928	--	02	--	01	--	--	--	11	01	02	08	--
1929	03	04	--	05	--	--	--	04	--	02	03	--
1930	--	02	01	03	--	--	--	02	--	--	--	--

Other=nurses' uniforms, housemaids dresses, maternity clothing and aprons.
*Ready-to-wear refers to alteration work on ready-to-wear garments.
-- indicates that no information was found for that date.

Garments were mentioned in advertisements as examples of the type of service offered or, in the case of Situation Vacant advertisements, as examples of the skill level or experience wanted in an employee. Often a dressmaker would indicate one type of

garment as a specialty:

> Dressmaking - Ladies' tailored suits and coats a specialty. Mrs. Pringle and Mrs. Brown, 1231 Kinistino Avenue. Phone 5545 (1912/04/23 EJ);

and:

> Afternoon, evening and street gowns made. Undergarments a specialty. Room 15, 10043 112 Street (1920/02/18 EJ).

The greatest number of advertisements for tailored garments and outer garments appeared during dates when tailored garments were in fashion, 1912 through 1916 and 1920 through 1922. Several advertisements of children's clothing occurred from 1909 through 1930. As children's clothing could be simpler and less time consuming to construct, some seamstresses may have included children's garments in their advertisements as a means of determining the garments they would be asked to make. For example:

> Situation Wanted -- Competent seamstress wants work by the day or at home. Blouses, children's dresses, boys' suits and underwear, well and quickly done. Terms moderate. Apply at 37 Boyle Street (1912/03/26 EJ).

Compared to women's clothing children's garments had fewer fitting problems. There were usually fewer garment pieces to seam, less decoration, less detailed construction and simpler fabrics were used, therefore children's clothing could be readily produced by a less skilled sewer and in less time than could most women's clothing.

4.2.8 Detail of Location Information in Advertisements

The majority of advertisements throughout the period list an address , or in later years, an address and a telephone number. Most advertisers were not reluctant to disclose location information judging from the small number of advertisements listing a newspaper box number only or a telephone number only.

Table 4.12 illustrates the number of advertisements listing the various details of location information.

Table 4.12 Detail of Location Information in Advertisements

	Address & Phone	Address Only	Phone Only	Newspaper Box Number
1904	--	13	--	--
1905	--	11	--	02
1906	--	14	--	01
1907	03	28	--	09
1908	--	27	--	07
1909	04	22	--	07
1910	03	25	01	06
1919	09	32	03	04
1912	13	49	03	05
1913	37	53	05	07
1914	38	35	10	04
1915	39	27	14	03
1916	27	36	14	02
1917	12	24	05	04
1918	18	29	13	02
1919	17	30	04	06
1920	22	28	21	05
1921	35	44	19	01
1922	27	18	17	07
1923	12	08	13	05
1924	14	05	23	--
1925	07	07	18	04
1926	18	08	14	01
1927	08	17	11	04
1928	16	17	12	02
1929	17	16	16	03
1930	11	09	17	--

-- indicates that no information was found for that date.

Location information can prove useful in charting the progress of a particular dressmaker, for example:

> Situation Wanted - Dressmaking. Mrs. Mickleberry, 940 Kinistino, at home or by the day; also plain sewing (1909/02/26 EJ);

> Mrs. Mickleberry has removed dressmaking from 803 Fraser to Chicago Millinery, 445 Namayo (1914/02/09 EJ);

and

> Dressmaking - Ladies' tailored suits, coats, specialty. Mrs. Pringle and Mrs. Brown, 1231 Kinistino Avenue. Phone 5545 (1912/04/23 EJ);

> Mrs. Pringle begs to announce her removal from 1231 Kinistino Avenue to 171 Norwood Boulevard (1912/11/12 EJ);

> Mrs. Pringle has removed from 171 Norwood Boulevard to 446 Kirkness Street. Ladies' tailoring a specialty (1913/01/25 EJ).

Some dressmakers changed addresses frequently; in a few instances an address changed several times in the same year. One can speculate on the reasons for a change of address. As in the examples given, a dressmaker may have moved to improve her business or as a result of the dissolution of a partnership. Some dressmakers may have moved to better locations as their businesses expanded or they may have moved frequently to avoid problems with factory inspectors. Plotting of locations on a city map may more clearly indicate which and how many ladies' tailors and dressmakers were located in the business sections of the city compared with those in residential sections.

4.2.9 Type of Work Situation Advertised

For the variable, type of work situation, "dressmaking establishment" or "tailoring establishment" was coded if the advertisement specifically stated as much or if the name used indicated an established business, for example, Specialty Dressmaking Company or Bon Ton Dressmaking Rooms. As a result the number of indeterminate responses is high since no attempt was made to distinguish a possible business address from a residential address.

The majority of tailoring establishments were operated by men who combined ladies' tailoring and men's tailoring in one business. Some women did operate tailoring businesses, for example:

> High-class ladies' tailoring - Miss Gimblett late of E. Burnett, Exclusive Ladies' Tailoring, 364 Younge St., Toronto, has opened a Ladies' Tailoring Business at 258 Namayo Avenue. A trial order is solicited (1910/05/13 EJ);

and:

> Emily Hohn, 10138 Whyte. Tailor (*Henderson's*, 1927 - 1930).

Most women tailors, however, combined ladies' tailoring and dressmaking in one business, for example:

> Miss Stauth of Buffalo, New York has opened a Ladies' Tailoring and Fine Dressmaking Parlor in Gilmer Block, First Street, North from the Windsor Hotel (1904/03/26 EJ);

and:

> First-class dressmaker and ladies' tailor. wraps and separate coats a specialty. Prices reasonable. Mrs. Vachon, Suite 7-8 Cattistock Block, Jasper West near Fifth (1914/06/03 EB);

One male, Thomas Hindle and Company, operated a combined tailoring and dressmaking business, however, the emphasis was on tailoring. It is difficult to say how many of these men and women were managers and how many actually worked on garments. The combination of various sewing activities in a business will be discussed further.

The number of sewers working in a tailoring or dressmaking establishment and by the day was highest just prior to and during the first world war and again in the early 1920s. There were also more advertisements of work for retail, work for a drycleaner and factory homework in these years than earlier or later years.

The majority of advertisements of work in a retail store are situation vacant advertisements placed by retail clothing stores with a dressmaking department or, in the 1920s, with an alteration department for ladies' ready-to-wear garments. Some examples of retail clothing stores which had dressmaking departments are Revillon Bros., Hudson's Bay Company, Forbes-Taylor Company, James Ramsey's, Johnstone Walker s and Thompson Ladies' Wear. Other retail stores combined dressmaking services with other dress-related services, for example, the Louvre Millinery Store, Parisian Millinery, Fox's Silk and Dress Goods and Trudeau's Cleaning and Dye Works. By 1928 a few retail outlets were offering services to sewers such as hemstitching, picoting, buttonholing and pleating; some examples are Kay's, the Pekine Shoppe, Singer Sewing Machines and Trudeau's Cleaning and Dye Works. Advertisements placed by drycleaning establishments were requests for seamstresses to do alteration or repair work. Examples of the advertisers are Pan-Co-Vesta Company, Trudeau's Cleaning and Dye Works, French Dry Cleaners, Parisian Dye Works, My Valet Company, and Model Cleaners and Tailors.

Advertisements for factory homework on ready-to-wear clothing are primarily from one source, National Manufacturing Company of Montreal. The notice appears regularly in both the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Edmonton Daily Bulletin* from 1907 through to 1930. The Ontario Neckwear Company placed an advertisement in 1930 requesting home sewers to work for them via the mails.

Table 4.13 summarizes the information regarding work situation.

Table 4.13 Type of Work Situation Advertised

	Tailoring &/or Dressmaking Est	Work by the Day	Work by the Hour	At Home	Work for Retail	Work for Drycleaner	Homework	Indeterminate
1904	06	04	--	--	01	--	--	--
1905	02	01	--	--	--	01	--	--
1906	06	01	--	--	01	02	--	--
1907	10	11	01	--	01	01	--	01
1908	02	10	--	--	03	--	--	01
1909	--	10	--	--	01	02	01	02
1910	07	11	01	--	03	01	--	02
1911	02	22	--	03	01	05	--	01
1912	07	17	02	03	04	08	--	01
1913	18	26	--	02	02	07	--	--
1914	14	30	04	02	--	02	--	01
1915	13	25	02	--	02	03	--	01
1916	17	26	01	01	03	08	--	01
1917	09	08	01	--	03	04	--	--
1918	12	13	02	--	03	--	01	02
1919	21	10	--	--	02	02	--	02
1920	08	21	04	02	05	02	01	01
1921	15	13	02	--	03	02	04	02
1922	10	12	--	--	01	01	02	02
1923	06	14	--	01	01	01	01	01
1924	--	15	--	01	--	--	02	02
1925	--	10	--	--	02	01	--	--
1926	04	08	04	--	01	03	01	01
1927	02	12	02	--	01	01	--	02
1928	03	09	--	--	01	05	--	--
1929	04	15	02	--	01	01	03	01
1930	03	11	05	01	01	01	--	03

-- indicates that no information was found for that date.

4.2.10 Situation Vacant Advertisements - Requests for Sewers

Requests for sewers appeared in advertisements placed by retail clothing outlets and established dressmaking and tailoring businesses. Most advertisements were for apprentices, hands or makers, helpers, assistants and dressmakers. Several advertisements for sewers were placed by only a few employers. Often the request was for more than one employee. These advertisements indicate that employers may have found it difficult to find skilled help, for example just prior to and during the war years, the period when most of the advertisements appeared. The frequency of these advertisements may also be an indication of high employee turnover.

Table 4.14 Situation Vacant Advertisements - Requests by Employers for Other Sewers

	Dressmaker	Tailoress	Seamstress	Assistant	Hand/Maker	Apprentice	Improver	Helper	Finisher
1904	02	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1905	01	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--
1906	01	--	01	--	02	02	01	--	--
1907	03	--	--	--	05	05	01	--	--
1908	01	--	01	02	01	03	01	--	--
1909	02	--	--	--	--	01	01	--	--
1910	03	--	01	--	01	--	--	--	--
1911	01	--	01	01	04	01	--	02	--
1912	07	03	01	03	04	04	--	--	--
1913	06	--	01	02	06	05	--	01	--
1914	01	--	01	02	01	03	--	--	--
1915	03	--	--	--	02	--	02	--	01
1916	04	03	--	03	09	03	01	--	03
1917	03	04	02	--	02	01	--	--	02
1918	04	01	02	03	--	06	02	01	03
1919	05	08	01	03	01	03	--	01	06
1920	--	01	--	--	02	02	--	02	--
1921	01	03	05	01	01	--	--	--	--
1922	--	03	--	--	--	03	--	02	01
1923	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	02	--
1924	01	01	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1925	02	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	--
1926	01	--	--	--	04	01	--	01	--
1927	01	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	--
1928	04	--	--	--	01	01	--	--	--
1929	--	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	--
1930	--	--	--	01	--	--	--	--	--

-- indicates that no information was found for that date.

The terms, hand and maker, helper and assistant, were often used in conjunction with a specific garment, for example:

> Wanted - First class ladies' coat and skirt hands; also helpers and apprentices on gowns. Apply 233 Jasper West (1912/04/23 EJ);

and:

> Situation Vacant - Wanted: First-class tailoress, gown finishers and apprentices. Come ready to work at Miss Strem's Dressmaking Parlors. 10649 Jasper West (1917/10/25 EJ).

Additional terms encountered were sewing maid, sewing girl and sample maker. The term, sewing maid, is used in a situation wanted advertisement placed by an individual wanting work in an institution and in a situation vacant advertisement for a sewing maid in a children's home. The advertisements suggest that a sewing maid was a maid with sewing experience and skills who would perform basic domestic service tasks. The advertisements requesting sewing girls were placed by dressmaking businesses managed by women, however, no specific meaning was applied to the term. The term may have referred to girls with general sewing experience; for example, one advertisement requested "sewing girls and one who understands dressmaking" (1921/11/12 EJ). The advertisement for a sample maker indicated ladies' and children's wear but did not indicate whether the advertiser was a garment manfacturer or someone in private business.

4.2.11 Other Services Advertised

The other services offered most often in conjunction with a sewing activity were mending and darning, needlework, household sewing and millinery. Fabrics and notions for sale and furs altered and repaired were services listed occasionally. One advertiser requested "hotel or hospital sewing, or curtains". Unique services, offered perhaps to attract customers, included the ability to speak a second language, importing, sample garments, a twentieth century ladies' tailoring system, hand painting on evening and wedding gowns , the H. and F. skirt shield and the use of a pneumatic dress form. Dressmaking services were also offered in exchange for goods and other services. Alternative services listed along with a sewing service were laundry and dry cleaning, childcare, nursing or care of an invalid, music lessons, housework and cooking, catering, entertaining, the making of hair switches, companion, waiter, photograph retouching,

flower making, marcelling, and the mounting of needlework or paintings.

Table 4.15 shows the number of advertisements each year which listed an additional service in conjunction with the sewing service.

Table 4.15 Other Services Advertised

	Fabrics & Notions	Mending/Darning	Needlework	Millinery	Dry Cleaning & Laundry	Furs Altered & Repaired	Housework & Cooking	Other
1904	--	01	--	--	--	--	--	01
1905	--	02	--	01	--	--	--	--
1906	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
1907	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	01
1908	--	02	02	01	01	01	01	04
1909	--	--	--	01	01	01	01	01
1910	--	--	--	--	01	--	--	01
1911	01	--	--	--	--	01	--	--
1912	02	01	01	04	01	--	--	--
1913	03	03	01	02	04	02	--	--
1914	01	--	03	03	01	01	01	--
1915	--	--	03	06	01	01	--	--
1916	03	--	--	06	--	02	--	--
1917	--	02	--	--	--	--	--	01
1918	--	04	03	--	02	--	--	--
1919	01	--	01	02	--	--	--	--
1920	02	05	08	01	01	01	--	01
1921	01	07	06	--	01	03	01	01
1922	--	04	09	--	01	--	01	--
1923	--	04	01	--	--	01	--	--
1924	--	03	05	01	01	01	--	--
1925	--	05	02	--	01	--	--	--
1926	--	03	01	--	01	--	--	--
1927	--	04	01	--	--	--	--	--
1928	--	05	05	01	--	02	--	--
1929	--	--	05	--	01	02	--	03
1930	--	03	05	01	01	--	--	01

-- indicates that no information was found for that date.
Note: Other services also included photograph retouching, music lessons, the ability to speak a second language, importing, the making of hair switches, the making of paper flowers, catering and companion.

5. Discussion

5.1 Work Situations Using Sewing Skills

Trautman (1979) noted that, in Colorado, "dressmaking and seamsterring were occupations worked out of one's residence and were temporary, while tailoring was generally worked out of a business location and tended to be somewhat more stable" (p. 94). Newspaper advertisements and the *Henderson's Business Directory* indicate that dressmaking and seamsterring were temporary occupations for women in Edmonton. Most dressmakers' names appear once or twice in newspaper advertisements and many advertisements do not include a name. The same advertisements often list an impermanent work situation such as work in one's home or in the customer's home by the hour, day or week. The majority of dressmakers listed in the *Henderson's Business Directory* were usually in business less than five years.

The census indicates that the majority of seamstresses and tailoresses were wage earners whereas the majority of dressmakers worked on their own account either as an employer, by the day from their homes, or in a shop. Dressmakers who worked out by the day were considered wage earners or employees for census purposes. Dressmakers working in an establishment employing less than five people were also considered, for purposes of the census, as working on their own account. An analysis of the work situation as indicated in newspaper advertisements gives a more detailed account of the activities of tailoresses, dressmakers and seamstresses.

The high number of advertisements not specifying a work situation is indicative of the flexibility of sewing occupations and also the necessity of being flexible. The lack of information suggests that the type of work situation and the terms of payment were settled with each customer. Women working by the day were in the majority throughout the period from 1908 to 1930. Working by the day had the advantage of enabling the dressmaker to work from her own home or in the customer's home. Other advantages of this type of work situation included flexibility in scheduling sewing time along with other activities, low overhead costs, and the choice of taking work when time allowed or when economic necessity arose.

Some customers preferred to have the dressmaker come to their homes. One dressmaking shop extended this service to its customers:

> Situation Wanted, Female - Wanted work as dressmaking of any kind at my shop at 401 Clara Street or will go to house as desired. Will be at shop from 2 to 6 o'clock (1910/12/12 EJ).

Oral history reveals that some families engaged a dressmaker to come to their homes for a week at a time in the spring and fall of the year (Silverman Tape #13). This practice saved the customer the inconvenience of travelling to the dressmaker's shop or home if several fittings were required and also afforded the dressmaker an opportunity for informal social interaction. The dressmaker may have taught the daughters of the family how to sew (Silverman Tape #13) or may have become a friend of the family (Matheson Interview).

Occasionally sewing services were offered by the hour or the week at home or out. Very few dressmakers advertised to work at home only; the necessity of staying at home, for example, with children, may have been the reason for their lack of flexibility in the work situation.

Some dressmakers clearly stated the conditions of their employment:

> Dressmaking, alterations, making over; women's and children's; go out $1.50 per day and noon meal. 10163 94A Street (1929/03/01 EB).

Others noted specific times they were available for work; for example:

> Dressmaker desires work during spare hours. Apply after 6 p.m., 12024 91 Street (1920/05/20EJ);

and:

> Wanted - By experienced dressmaker, sewing by the day or at home. Best city references. Work wanted for between now and first of January. Apply Box 2 Journal (1908/12/12 EJ);

or, this somewhat pretentious one:

> Experienced lady tailoress and dressmaker will go out sewing by the day for a short time to well-to-do people. All work guaranteed. Apply Box 425 Journal (1914/09/16 EJ).

In some cases the customer stated the terms under which the dressmaker would be engaged; for example:

> Dressmaker wanted - To do work at a private house for a few days. Apply Room 1 Edmonton Hotel Annex (1908/05/08 EJ).

These and other advertisements point to the flexibility, but also the instability of much of this work. The fact that dressmakers advertised a desire to work "for the season" or in

"a steady position" illustrates the insecurity of the occupation.

Some advertisers specified a particular area of the city in which they preferred to work. For example:

> Wanted - Dressmaking by the hour or day. Highlands preferred. For appointment phone 6580 or address P.O. Box 1319, City (1914/04/09 EJ);

and:

> Personal - Sewing wanted west end. Phone 23697 (1930/07/28 EJ);

or outside the city:

> Family sewing in town or country. Box 289 Journal (1920/05/01 EJ).

Conditions of time and place attached to the work situation by the advertiser suggest that dressmaking by the day was, as the term suggests, a temporary occupation taken up when necessary or desired but was not the primary concern in their lives. Other concerns such as marriage and the family were perhaps, for many, more important.

The number of sewers working in dressmaking and tailoring establishments is generally less than the number of sewers working by the day ; however, the numbers do not account for the individual employees working in these establishments. The greatest number of sewers working in dressmaking or tailoring establishments occurred for the years 1913 to 1922. Unlike work by the day, work in a dressmaking or tailoring establishment employed significantly fewer sewers after 1922. By this date operating an established business may not have been profitable due to increased competition from retailers of ready-to-wear clothing.

Information from the *Henderson's Business Directory* for 1910 and 1920 indicates that dressmaking establishments were an important source of employment for dressmakers at the earlier date but had become less so by the twenties. The dressmakers listed as being employed by a dressmaking establishment in 1910 were divided among six employers whereas, by 1920, only two different employers were listed. This suggests that by 1920 only the more successful establishments could employ other dressmakers or seamstresses. Also, the simpler dress styles of the twenties would have required less construction and therefore fewer sewers and less time were required to produce a finished garment. Two newspaper advertisements appeared, one in 1919 and one in 1920, which may have been placed by dressmakers seeking temporary assistance; for example:

> Situation Vacant - Wanted - Dressmaker to take work home, two weeks' work. Write Box 84 Bulletin (1919/10/08 EB);

and:

> Competent dressmaker for three days each week. Mrs. W. D. Bradey. Phone 82140 (1920/05/27 EJ).

The second advertisement suggests that some establishments may have made use of homeworkers rather than engaging temporary staff to work on the premises.

Dressmakers did operate successful businesses, some for ten or more years. They offered a range of services including designing, tailoring and dressmaking, and employed other dressmakers and seamstresses in their workrooms. A few sought to expand their businesses by offering unique services, for example, dressmaking lessons:

> Dressmaking - Opposite Alberta College, School of Dresscutting, arranged for. Come make your own spring gowns. No failures. Principal, Mrs. L. E. English, Room 4, Hanna Block, First Street opposite Alberta College (1911/04/25 EJ).

or millinery:

> The Royal Alexandra Dressmaking and Millinery at home or by the day. Reasonable prices and work guaranteed. Pattern hats special this week only $2.50. Phone 5961. 9346 104 Avenue (former address 624 Isabella Street) (1915/05/05 EJ);

or fabrics and Parisian designs:

> French Dressmaking Parlors 10615 Jasper Avenue West (Next to Corona) We are delighted to introduce to the ladies of Edmonton the exclusive materials for Afternoon & Evening Gowns which we have just received. Also models of the latest Parisian designers. We would be pleased if you would call and see our work. Special prices for next week only. STREM & CO. Phone 2884 (1915/10/01 EJ);

or designs copied from current fashion plates obtained from a travelling salesman (Penman/Empey Tape).

Oral history provided details of the working conditions in dressmaking establishments and the division of tasks. With regards to the hours of work one dressmaker stated: "We worked eight to six and it was supposed to be 'til one on Saturday but very often three" (Penman/Empey Tape). During the busy season, particularly Easter, some dressmakers on their own worked through the night or, if they were employees, they often worked to seven or eight in the evening (Penman/Empey Tape). Tasks were, generally speaking, divided into cutting and fitting, construction, finishing, and specialized tasks such as making covered buttons, beading and

embroidery. With regards to beading one dressmaker commented: "We did an awful lot of beading .... It was hard on you. It made your chest ache" (Penman/Empey Tape). Another dressmaker, working in her own home, relied on her two daughters to do the beadwork (McMahon Tape).

Tuchscherer (1979) concluded that technology did not play a significant part in the women's ready-to-wear dress industry. Special machines for picoting, hemstitching, buttonholing and pleating were introduced in Edmonton by specialized businesses servicing garment manufacturers, dressmaking establishments and home sewers (Pekin Shoppe, Togerman) and by an established men's custom tailoring business (Kay's). Dressmaking establishments used the basic equipment and perhaps a few extras such as a machine for making covered buttons (Penman/Empey Tape). One dressmaker who worked for several years in two prominent dressmaking establishments in Edmonton noted that sewing machine attachments such as a ruffler and hemmers were not of much use to a dressmaker (Penman/Empey Tape).

As noted, a sewing machine may have cost between $12.00 and $21.00 in 1903-04 or between $29.00 and $58.00 in 1926-27. A dressmaker who earned $13.00 a week in 1920-21 would have required approximately a week's wages to purchase a machine outright.

Several dressmakers who worked for women's retail clothing stores eventually established lasting businesses of their own. Madame Zara Silvester and Miss A. Strem of Strem and Company, both initially worked for Forbes-Taylor Costumiers and both went on to operate successful dressmaking/tailoring establishments with several employees. One employee of Miss A. Strem, Miss Emily Thomas, also started her own dressmaking establishment which remained in business for approximately seven years. Time spent working for a women's retail clothing establishment may have been an apprenticeship in dressmaking or an opportunity for a skilled dressmaker to gain experience in various aspects of operating a workroom, experience which could then be transferred to the operation of a private dressmaking establishment, and an opportunity to build up a clientele and accumulate capital.

Some dressmakers allied themselves with ladies' tailors and women's retail clothing outlets rather than establishing a private business. Other dressmakers entered

partnerships, for example:

> Wanted - Dressmaker to go in partnership with another young lady. Box 169 Journal (1910/03/10 EJ).

and:

> The Misses Murphy and Bryne are opening their Dressmaking Establishment on March 1st at Suite 107, Pantages Building (1921/02/26 EJ).

Most tailors combined ladies' and men's tailoring and operated from a business establishment. Some are also listed as merchant tailors, for example, G. W. Martin and Fred Wagner. It is apparent from newspaper advertisements that tailors took advantage of opportunities to improve their business by purchasing an established business or by entering into a partnership:

> E. F. Mann, men's and ladies' tailoring; successor to Helman & Sapera (1922/03/25 EJ);
>
> R. M. Nichol has taken over the ladies' tailoring establishment of G. A. Paden; cutter and fitter to H. W. Ambrose (1920/08/15 EJ);

and:

> Situation Vacant - Wanted - Ladies' tailor wishes to meet a high-class dressmaker for business proposition in the city. Apply Box 260 Journal (1915/05/31 EJ);
>
> Ladies' tailor wishes to meet with high-class dressmaker for business proposition. One able to take charge, work fast at cut-rate prices. Box 321 Journal (1925/02/07 EJ).

Some were allied to clothing manufacturers as managers of made-to-measure outlets, for example:

> R. Hockley, manager, The Perfect Clothing Co., store next to Post Office, Jasper. We have a staff of expert workers who can please the most particular in style, fit, quality of materials and finish (1904/06/14 EJ).

Tailors also combined the tailoring business with clothing related businesses such as drycleaning, fabric importing and retailing. In some cases, tailors joined with dressmakers in businesses directed by the tailor; for example, R. F. Renouf, Ladies' Tailoring, Dressmaking by Mrs. F. L. White (see Appendix D for advertisement); R. Rutley & Co. (see Appendix D for advertisement); and:

> W. M. Morritt, Ladies' and gents' tailor. Dressmaking department under management of Mrs. Morritt. Phone 2819. 10757 Jasper (Edmonton Telephone Directory, 1928, p. 49).

Newspaper advertisements suggest that work for a retail outlet was significant particularly prior to 1920 when the larger outlets operated dressmaking departments.

The *Henderson's Business Directory* reveals that, in 1920, the Hudson's Bay Company employed eight dressmakers in their dressmaking department and Forbes-Taylor Company employed seven tailoresses to do ladies' tailoring. By 1930 no sewers were listed in the *Henderson's Business Directory* as being employed by either company. Dressmaking departments in most women's clothing stores gave way to alteration departments. Johnstone Walker is one exception; two dressmakers were employed there in 1920 and 1930. Newspaper advertisements indicate that, when most ready-to-wear outlets were dismantling their dressmaking departments, Johnstone Walker still operated one; for example:

> Situation vacant - Experienced dressmaker wanted. Apply Mrs. Trower, Johnstone Walker Ltd. (1924/03/15 EJ);

In 1926 they employed 'a staff of experienced designers and cutters' to produce their 'semi-ready frocks' (see advertisement Appendix D). In 1930, a dressmaker was still associated with the store:

> Miss McLennan, Dressmaker & Designer, announces the removal of her establishment from 10233 Jasper Avenue to the third floor of Johnstone Walker. Miss McLennan is now ready to receive her patrons in her new quarters (1930/03/03 EJ).

Smaller women's ready-to-wear clothing stores employed seamstresses for alteration work. For example, the 1920 *Henderson's Business Directory* lists three seamstresses working for a retail outlet. This practice of employing one or two seamstresses or dressmakers in alteration services continued into 1930. The 1930 *Henderson' s Business Directory* lists four dressmakers and five seamstresses working for retail outlets.

A few sewers - tailoresses, dressmakers and seamstresses, worked for a drycleaning or laundry business. Newspaper advertisements reveal that they were primarily engaged in remodelling or repair work; for example:

> The Pan-Co-Vesta Club, Fred Cooper, Prop. Phone 2279. Steam & French Dry Cleaning & Dye Works. Ladies' work a specialty. Alterations & repairs. Jackets relined. Gloves cleaned equal to new. Skirts shortened & rebound. Ostrich feathers cleaned, coloured & curled. 752 First Street (1909/02/09 EJ);
>
> Situation vacant - Girl used to plain sewing for repair work. Apply Royal Cleaning Works. 9839 Jasper (1920/05/14 EJ);

and:

> Wanted - Two thoroughly experienced lady patchers, no other need apply.

> Trudeau's Cleaning & Dye Works. 10151 109 Street. Phone 2668 (1921/04/04 EJ).

Trudeau's Cleaning and Dye Works is an example of a multi-faceted business engaged in tailoring, dressmaking and millinery work as well as drycleaning, fur cleaning and dyeing (see advertisement in Appendix D).

Factory homework or outworking does not appear to have been a significant part of sewing activities in Edmonton. The terms refer to the giving out of articles or materials to be made up, cleaned, washed, altered, ornamented, finished or repaired or adapted for sale in the home of the employee of a factory (*The Factories Act* 1917, p. 139). Because of the difficulty in obtaining information about factory homework from any source the incidence of factory homework in Edmonton cannot be accurately assessed. Factory homeworkers were often recruited through informal channels, for example, through family members working in the factory. Despite *The Factories Act*, formal records of employees were not likely to have been kept regularly. Mothers and recent immigrants have been identified as a major component of the factory homeworking population (Johnson, 1982). Both groups are likely to be underrepresented in any formal information source, for example, the census. The census counted pieceworkers in the factory or outside of it as wage earners; therefore, their numbers are obscured.

The expanded sample of newspaper advertisements for 1910 and 1915 (Smith, 1984) does indicate that some factories or dressmaking establishments in Edmonton used homeworkers to some extent; for example:

> Wanted - First-class experienced girls to undertake at home the making of ladies' blouses and neckwear. Apply Box 1726 P. O. (1910/01/07 EJ);

and:

> Shirt makers wanted for homework, also in factory. Must be experienced. Apply 9452 Jasper Avenue (1915/05/29 EJ).

One company, the National Manufacturing Company of Montreal, consistently advertised in the *Edmonton Journal* and the *Edmonton Bulletin* for homeworkers to do plain sewing. It is impossible to establish at this point how many, if any, sewers in Edmonton worked for the company.

The *Census of Canada 1921* provides comparative data between major cities in terms of the number of weeks worked on average and the earnings per week for

various occupations. Compared with dressmakers, seamstresses and tailoresses in Toronto, Montreal and Winnipeg, those working in Edmonton in 1920-1921 were employed for a greater number of weeks on average yet earned less per week on average. Women working as clerks and teachers in each city were employed longer and earned from approximately $2.00 to $15.00 more in average weekly earnings. For example, women working as teachers in Edmonton earned an average weekly income of $29.00 whereas dressmakers, seamstresses and tailoresses earned $13.00 per week. Clothing factory employees earned slightly less per week ($12.00). Those in domestic and personal services earned the least of all at $9.00 per week (*Census of Canada 1921*, Vol. 3, Tables 38 & 39).

Payment for dressmaking services was occasionally mentioned in advertisements. Some specify the wage expected per day or hour, for example:

> Dressmaking wanted by long experienced hand. Would call for work and take it home or sew by the day for $0.10 per hour. Apply Box 358 Journal (1915/04/27 EJ).

Some specified the price per garment, for example;

> Miss McAtee, phone 2694, dressmaker and ladies' tailor; dresses made from $5 to $10, and suits from $10 to $15. Satisfaction guaranteed, 318 Fraser Avenue (1910/03/04 EJ);

and, at a later, less properous date:

> Dressmaking, plain sewing and altering. Ladies' sport dresses $0.75, children's dresses, rompers and middies $0.25. 11268 95 Street (1918/06/13 EB).

Other advertisements, although not stating specific terms of payment, suggested the range of payment expected. For example:

> Dressmaking - At very lowest prices to get established. All work guaranteed. R., 111 Alberta Block, Phone 4691 (1915/11/13 EJ);

or, put more bluntly:

> Dressmaking wanted by the day, or at home, cheap. Box 211 Journal (1915/09/03 EJ).

The infrequent appearance of advertisements specifying the cost of a sewing service or the price of a garment makes any statement based on quantifiable data impossible. The impression gained from those advertisements which do include cost information is that prices were very flexible and only reached some measure of uniformity among established dressmaking shops.

Some advertisers adjusted their rates to account for the seasonal slack in business:

> Dressmaking wanted daily - Reductions weekly, visits houses, city or country or take work. Plain, fancy sewing, good cut, fit, style; low terms. Amateur photoplates retouched, printed & developed. Apply Box 69 Journal (1910/06/29 EJ);

or:

> Mrs. English ... is making a special reduction in all branches. Fall coats from $5 during slack season (1914/09/04 EJ).

Other advertisers reflected the economic climate of the times in which they were working. Some reduced prices while others turned to remodelling or repairing of clothing. For example:

> Save money. Have old clothes made over for children. Other sewing or repairing done. Phone Mrs. Seman, 4138 (1924/10/25 EJ).

One forthright advertiser of 1911 stated that dressmaking was not among the more profitable occupations:

> Wanted - Dressmaker or teacher who would like more lucrative work. Splendid possibilities for energetic workers. Answer at once, giving address, Box A, Bulletin (1911/03/01 EB).

One can only guess as to what the other splendid possibilities were! This advertisement of 1930 makes it clear that, for some, it was simply a question of needing work:

> Would someone please give a capable woman work. Ironing expertly done. Plain sewing and mending. 10525 101 Street (1930/11/02 EJ).

In some cases sewers were not directly paid for their services but entered into some type of exchange with another person. Individuals wanting to learn sewing skills were offered lessons, for example:

> Situation Vacant - Wanted - Girl to help, in house, chance to learn dressmaking. E. Reid, 60 Grierson Street (1907/03/22 EJ);

or:

> Experienced dressmaker is offering lodgings of reasonable rates in return for giving lessons to girl in dressmaking. Box 322 Journal (1913/09/29 EJ).

Other arrangements also involved the exchange of room and board for sewing services, for example:

> Situation Vacant - Good-fitting dressmaker (or teacher) to take in or by the day; reasonable proposition offered by lady who has modern home & machine; can also be advertised; Protestant; references. Box 401 Journal (1915/02/01 EJ);

and:

> Situation Vacant - Wanted - A dressmaker to sew in exchange for her board and room when not engaged out. Call 320 Jasper Avenue East. Phone 4552 (1915/02/20 EJ).

In some instances less structured arrangements for an exchange of skills were made. For example, one dressmaker who did not want to 'hang out her ticket' offered to sew for a neighbour in exchange for painting lessons (Emslie Tape). In other instances, one woman would do housework and prepare lunch while a friend made the clothing for both families (Brown Interview), or one woman's husband did farm work for a neighbour in exchange for sewing services provided by the neighbour (Wenger Interview). Dressmakers made clothing for themselves and family members; for example, one dressmaker related: "I made coats for all my sisters in my spare time. I made lots of things for my mother too and I made my own coats, too" (Penman/Empey Tape). This type of exchange, although difficult to discover, no doubt occurred frequently among neighbours and within families.

As noted in the Findings section 4.2.8, newspaper advertisements are a valuable source of information on the movement of dressmakers from one job to another and from one location to another. Similar information, as well as some of the reasons for the changes, can be obtained from oral history. For example, one dressmaker was trained by her mother and worked at home with her from an early age. When marital problems arose she returned home to continue work with her mother until she obtained a job as an examiner with the Great West Garment Company. Describing the work there she said: "I examined all the work that come out. You'd sew it and I'd examine it to see if you'd done it right. That's what I was doing and I hated it!" After approximately four years at this job she worked as a tailor at Johnstone Walker for several years. In the 1930s she worked in Trudeau's dressmaking department and helped close it out, then went on to do alteration work for the drycleaning department there (McMahon Tape). This example illustrates not only the variety of work situations of the individual sewer but also the change over the decades from work in the home to work for a business. It is interesting to note that this interviewee's mother also eventually moved into alteration work for a women's ready-to-wear outlet and remained at this work into her seventies.

5.2 Profile of Sewers

5.2.1 Age

The Census indicates that the majority of dressmakers in Edmonton in 1911 and 1921 were between 25 and 49 years of age while an almost equal number of tailoresses and seamstresses fell into the 15 to 24 and 25 to 49 age brackets (the Census of 1911 does not give a further breakdown of the 25 to 49 age grouping; Census of Canada 1911, Vol. 6, pp. 376-377; Census of Canada 1921, Vol. 4, pp. 368-369). In 1931 there was an almost equal number of dressmakers in the 15 to 24 year bracket as in the 25 to 49 year bracket (Census of Canada 1931, Vol. 5, pp. 562 -562).

In 1921 there were six dressmakers aged 65 or over while there was only one in 1911 and in 1931. No tailoresses or seamstresses were in the 65 plus age bracket in any of the three census years studied.

A decrease to approximately half of the number of dressmakers in the 15 to 24 years bracket in 1921 as compared to the number in 1911 is evidence of what the census compilers called a 'declining occupation'. The 1931 census does not list apprentices which suggests that they were no longer as important a part of the occupation as in 1921 when 12 apprentice dressmakers were listed.

The statistics for age of employed women in Edmonton corresponded to national patterns of age and employment of women. Betke (1981) pointed out that "the statistics for [gainfully occupied] girls and women were heavily skewed to the 15-24 age category - 4/9 of the total employed, but among women 25 and over only 15% were employed in comparison with 94% of men in the corresponding age group" (p. 449).

Age was referred to in very few advertisements but was mentioned occasionally, as in this advertisement:

> Personal - Elderly woman would do mending and plain sewing for bachelor. 11618 95 Street (1920/05/13 EJ);

and:

> Woman, middle-aged, would like to get practical experience nursing or sewing day or week. Good references supplied. Phone 81132 (1923/03/01 EJ).

A reference to age may have been used by the advertiser to elicit sympathy and offers

of work, or to simply make the reader aware of who was seeking employment.

5.2.2 Marital Status

In 1916, of the female population of Edmonton 15 years of age and older, 54% of the 20 to 24 year olds were single whereas 80% of the 25 to 34 year olds and 86% of the 35 to 44 year olds were married (Census of Prairie Provinces 1916, Table 18, p. 197). In 1926, of the female population of Edmonton aged 15 years and over, 66% of the 20 to 24 year olds were single and 30% were married ; 75% of the 25 to 34 age bracket and 85% of the 35 to 44 age bracket were married (Census of Prairie Provinces 1926, Table 26, pp. 596 -597). The figures indicate a decrease in the number of women marrying by age 34 thereby adding to the population of young, single and employable women.

The conjugal condition of females in Edmonton engaged in gainful occupations is not given; however, figures are available for the province of Alberta. Of the female population aged 15 years and over, 39% of the single women were gainfully occupied in 1921 and 1931. There was a slight increase from 1921 over 1931 in the percentage of married women in gainful occupations - 2.5% to 3.6%. The percentage of widowed women who were gainfully occupied remained the same at about 31% (Census of Canada 1931, Table 26, p. 37). It is apparent from these figures that the majority of the females gainfully occupied in Alberta were single. Research has shown that very few married women engaged in paid work outside the home.

Evidence from newspaper advertisements on the [illegible] of sewers is sketchy. Some advertisers did specifically mention their marital status, for example:

> Wanted - Farmer's widow wants daily employment; housekeeper, sewing, music. Candy & Co. (1904/06/14 EJ);

and:

> Women's and children's sewing wanted by married woman to do at home. Apply 11223 95A Street (1917/12/11 EJ).

One advertiser, left as the sole support of her family, placed this advertisement:

> Plain sewing, etc. - Mrs. Donaldson, who has been left without support and has two small children to maintain, would be glad to hear of any suitable work. Apply 5 doors west of Odd Fellows Temple (1909/08/03 SP).

Oral history indicated that women discontinued their work after marriage or shortly after

the birth of a first child (Penman/Empey Tape). In another case, a woman continued to work for most of her married life because her husband's income was inadequate (Keir Tape). Prior to marriage some dressmakers lived at home and contributed to the family income as noted in this interview: "I gave my mother $3.00 and I had $3.00.... I lived at home until I got married" (Penman/Empey Tape). As the examples illustrate, the dressmakers followed the social conventions of the time with regards to the relative importance of work and marriage and family responsibility. Tentler (1979) noted that "the working-class daughter who lived in the parental home was the typical female wage earner in the years 1900 to 1930" (p. 85).

5.3 Sewing Activities and the Formal/Informal Economy

This section of the discussion refers particularly to Tables 4.4 and 4.6 of the Findings.

The greatest number of sewers, according to the estimate derived from newspaper advertisements, the *Henderson's Business Directory* and oral history, worked in the years 1912 to 1916. The highest estimated number of dressmakers was found for 1916. Dressmakers comprise the majority of the estimated number of sewers throughout the period studied. The estimated number of sewers decreased for two years then increased again from 1920 to 1922; this may be due to a sampling irregularity. The dates for which the greatest number of sewers were engaged in some kind of sewing activity coincide with periods when the Canadian economy, including the economy of the city of Edmonton, was particularly unstable (refer to section 2.4 of the Literature Review which discusses the history of Edmonton).

The highest number of advertisements placed in the *Edmonton Journal* occurred in 1913 and the second highest number in 1921. The greatest number of advertisements placed by dressmakers alone appeared from 1913 to 1915 and again in 1921. The *Henderson's Business Directory* recorded the greatest number of dressmakers for the years 1910 to 1917 and 1922 to 1923.

Other factors, combined with the general observation of an increase in the overall number of sewers, point to an increased use of sewing skills in employment during periods of economic instability. More advertisements appeared for a range of

sewing activities including tailoring, dressmaking and plain sewing. The advertisement of other sewing activitites such as family sewing, remodelling and alterations also increased in these years. The more frequent instance of remodelling and alterations during the early 1920s may indicate that fewer people could afford newly made clothing and therefore created a demand for work on finished garments. The change to a simpler dress style requiring less fabric made remodelling of earlier garments a practical and economical way of staying in style.

The marked rise in the number of advertisements for dressmaking during the nineteen-teens and early 1920s, coupled with the fact that a greater number of advertisements also listed less-skilled sewing activities such as plain sewing, remodelling and alterations, suggest that the term, dressmaking, was loosely used to indicate one who sews and should not be taken alone as an adequate description of the skill level of the sewer. Ambiguous terminology masks, to a certain extent, the entrance into the labour market of more sewers working at a lower skill level during periods of economic depression.

Immigration may account for the increase in numbers of sewers from 1911 to 1912. After this time, the poor economic climate as well as the unavailability of other jobs for which women were trained, are likely to be the reasons for the second rise in numbers of sewers from 1919 to 1922. The periods of highest employment of tailoresses, dressmakers and seamstresses were economically unstable years for Edmonton and the prairie provinces. Available skills, such as sewing skills, were likely to be utilized more often in informal and formal economic activities.

As indicated in Table 4.6 the number of women engaged in clothing manufacture increases each decade. However, shown as a percentage of the gainfully occupied female population, there was a decline with each decade in the percentage of females gainfully occupied in clothing manufacture. This suggests that other occupations were more desirable and more women undertook sewing occupations when other work was not readily available to them, for example, during periods of economic decline. The increase in the actual number of women working in sewing occupations during economically unstable years may have been further compounded by hidden workers such as factory homeworkers and married women enumerated as housewives only.

As outlined earlier, both the census and newspaper advertisements show a greater number of older women in dressmaking in the early 1920s than in the previous and subsequent decades. The lack of social institutions such as welfare and pensions at the time forced those who were self-supporting to utilize what skills they had in some type of paid employment, for example, women widowed during the first world war. The increase, in 1921, in the number of women aged 65 years and over gainfully occupied as dressmakers is one example.

A greater number of advertisements specified work by the day, either at home or out, during the years 1911 to 1916 and again in the early 1920s. The flexibility of this type of work situation and the increase in the number of sewers adopting it suggests that many sought temporary, intermittent employment, or perhaps this type of employment was all that was available to them. The fact that some advertisers stressed the desirability of respectable work implies a reluctance to engage in paid employment; for example:

> Situation Wanted - Position as assistant dressmaker with respectable people. Address Room 51 Northern Hotel (1912/07/29 EJ);

The appearance throughout the nineteen-teens and twenties, of advertisements which list sewing among a number of other possible sources of employment indicate a sector of the female working population which called upon all available skills in an effort to earn some income. For example:

> Wanted by day - Washing, ironing, scrubbing and plain sewing by an American lady. 11030 96 Street, City (1915/10/18 EJ);
>
> Lady wants mending, plain sewing, or light work of any kind. Phone 82377 (1922/01/31 EJ);

and:

> Housekeeping, nursing, sewing, entertaining, etc. $2.00 daily or by arrangement. Phone 5814 (1924/02/28 EJ).

A few advertisers reflected the economic restraints of the time in their advertisements; for example:

> Mrs. McNamara has moved from 125 Elizabeth Street to 625 6 Street where she will be pleased to meet all old and new customers at wartime prices. Style and work guaranteed. A call will convince you phone 6741 (1914/12/04 EJ);

and:

> Children's clothes made and embroidered quickly. House dresses and

> undergarments made so you can afford them. Suite 12 Parkview Apartments. Call afternoon and evenings (1920/08/23 EJ).

An example from oral history illustrates that economic difficulties not only meant a reduction in prices but also led to other changes. Speaking of 1927, one dressmaker commented:

> From '27 on things were getting pretty bad and I know one January things were so bad it meant either laying us off or work for next to nothing. Madame [would] take in a dress and charge $5 for it but had to make it in one day, ... and even half the time we didn't get paid (Penman/Empey Tape).

The same source noted an increase in the amount of remodelling and the fact that this type of work was often all that was available.

As discussed earlier, sewers did enter into exchange agreements with their families, friends, neighbours and strangers. There are two sectors of the informal economy about which information cannot readily be discovered - homework and home sewing which contributed to the family income. Information on how prevalent a practice this was is difficult to discover from any source. Oral history reveals that dressmakers sewed for their own families as well as for customers, and those with an interest or talent for sewing sewed for themselves and other family members. In some cases the services of the family members, such as children, were used informally to perform time consuming tasks such as beading (McMahon Tape); or siblings employed in other occupations were enlisted when extra hands were needed (Penman/Empey Tape).

5.4 Type of Sewing and Skill Level

The majority of sewers labeled their sewing activity dressmaking although dressmaking covered a range of sewing activities and was not always the only activity advertised by an individual. Many advertised a range of sewing activities encompassing more than one skill level; for example, a woman calling herself a dressmaker may have advertised tailoring, dressmaking and plain sewing services in a single advertisement:

> Dressmaking and ladies' tailoring wanted by the day. Also plain sewing. Apply 2048 14 Street (1913/01/28 EJ).

Other terms, such as designing, cutting, family sewing, remodelling, alterations and lessons, were used to specify the type of dressmaking or plain sewing done and in response to customer demand for these particular services.

In some cases the term seamstress was used, in a similar manner as the terms dressmaking or dressmaker, in the general sense of 'one who sews'; for example:

> First-class seamstress wishes situation; fitting, tailoring or dressmaking. Box 90 Bulletin (1908/05/13 EB).

The skill of the sewer or the type of work she would do was indicated by the use of other terms, for example:

> Situation Vacant - Wanted - Experienced seamstress who is also a first-class ladies' tailor. References required. Apply mornings at 7-8 Cattistock Block, 10521 Jasper Avenue West (1914/04/25 EJ);

or:

> Seamstress wishes a few engagements to help with family sewing, preferably on South Side. Moderate rates. Phone 31412 (1915/04/05 EJ).

Designing, cutting and fitting were activities advertised by dressmakers who operated successful establishments over a number of years; for example:

> Mrs. Elverud - Edmonton Dressmaking Studio - Phone 4721, 211 Kitchen Block 101 Street. Employs a staff of dressmakers who will design and make your dresses or coats. Ten hours course in cutting and fitting $12 or separate lessons $1 (1928/11/03 EB);

and:

> First-class dressmaking and designing. Work guaranteed. Reasonable prices. Mrs. Mickleberry. 10868 93 Street. Phone 23790 (1925/10/02 EJ).

Cutting and fitting appear to have been the problems most frequently encountered by home sewers. Some dressmakers and retail outlets offered cutting and fitting services to sewers who would then construct the garment at home. This aspect of dressmaking will be discussed later in more detail in relation to changing dress styles and the increased availability of women's ready-to-wear clothing.

Plain sewing was associated with activities such as remodelling, repairing and mending or with garments which involved basic construction such as children's clothing and undergarments. For example:

> Wanted - Sewing to do at home; children's clothing, plain sewing and mending a specialty. Mrs. M. E. D., 135 Queens Avenue, Room 9 (1910/03/03 EJ);

> Situation Wanted - Any kind of plain sewing and repairing by capable woman; reasonable charges. Phone 5146 (1925/02/26 EJ);

and:

> Personal - Wanted sewing and remodelling for children. Prices reasonable. Phone 72375 (1930/05/20 EJ).

Plain sewing involved basic construction skills used to produce simple garments, and mundane tasks such as remodelling, repairing and mending.

Sewers acquired their skills in various ways. Some learned simply by doing, others were taught by a family member, some entered apprenticeships with tailors and dressmakers, and others received formal training in a school (Reesik Tape; McMahon Tape; Penman/Empey Tape; Keir Tape). Newspaper advertisements were placed by girls wanting to learn dressmaking:

> Situation Wanted - Position by young lady as apprentice to experienced dressmaker, wages not expected. Apply Box 86 Journal (1907/03/22 EJ);

and by dressmakers wanting apprentices:

> Situation Vacant - Wanted - A girl to learn dressmaking. Apply to Mrs. Cook, Scona Apartments, South Edmonton (1914/04/25 EJ).

It was usual for an apprentice to work for the first six months without pay, however, if the apprentice had already acquired the skills, the period without pay was much shorter (Penman/Empey Tape). Skills were passed on from one employee to another; for example, one woman experienced in fitting clothing instructed a younger coworker to to watch what she was doing whenever she had an opportunity (McMahon Tape). Sewing skills could be acquired at privately operated schools such as the Edmonton School of Dresscutting (1916/03/16 EB), the Scona School of Dressmaking (1915/12/11 EJ), and the Edmonton School of Domestic Science (1912/09/14 EJ). Public schools such as the Edmonton Technical School, the University of Alberta Department of Household Economics, and the Westminster Ladies' College (1920/08/28 EJ) taught household art, sewing and dressmaking in both day and evening classes (Kostek, 1982; Blyth & Purves, 1968). Some dressmakers acquired their skills in apprenticeships in England (Penman/Empey Tape) and in formal in-school training in France (Keir Tape) before immigrating to Canada.

The frequent appearance of advertisements for experienced assistants between 1911 and 1918 suggests that skilled help was scarce or that employers were reluctant to undertake the training of an assistant. One dressmaker made this comment about her coworkers at Johnstone Walker:

> The lady that run the place was no good at it at all. It was Marie and I that did the sewing. She used to make some of the worst messes ... and we'd have to fix it. We'd fit it on the lady and fix it. We'd have to fix it! (McMahon Tape)

Another dressmaker who employed girls to sew for her related that their work was often poorly done and she would have to redo it (Keir Tape).

Some dressmakers were obviously highly skilled and very talented. One dressmaker, a trained designer from France (1910), said:

> I'd take the measurements and I can draw the pattern and cut the pattern out. And I can cut the material and I wouldn't even have to adjust it it would fit her that good.... And we used to, in France, when I was taking designing, we used to do it on live models not on dummies and, take a nice lady, you can do beautiful things. Take a lady with a lot of lumps on her, it's not as nice, you see. But you have to make something to hide all the little lumps and you could do it if you were interested in your customer and you can make her look like a dream. I done it! (Keir Tape)

One observer, referring to two dressmakers respected for their work, stated:

> They were good at their trade, and Edmonton women wore their creations with pride. Sometimes mother and others sent to England for broadcloth or materials but they had their outfits made by these dressmakers who could copy any picture you brought them so well that their customers knew they were just as well dressed as their sisters in the east (Boyd, 1982, p. 10).

The simpler styles of the 1920s required less skill in fitting; however, some dressmakers were able to produce garments copied from illustrations. As Ley (1975) noted: "In magazines like *The Ladies' Home Journal*, the clothes of the Paris couture were described in extreme detail, down to the trimmings and back views were shown so that a good dressmaker could copy them from the illustrations" (p. 84). Several interviewees mentioned the dressmaker's ability to copy designs of garments from illustrations in magazines or catalogues and from ready-made garments. Some used basic patterns they drafted themselves, as in this example:

> My mother had some patterns but we used to cut patterns. She had what they used to call a drafting set .... It was all kinds of rulers and ... some of them shaped to go over the bust and some would fit certain hips and all different sizes .... She'd lay it on the pattern that she was going to cut the bustline of ... so she'd get the right bustline .... She'd cut hundreds of patterns .... And she'd use newspaper (McMahon Tape).

Others used purchased patterns as the basis for designs:

> We had to get patterns for some things, some basic patterns we had so that we could build on it, put it on a form and change it, enlarge it or make it smaller to suit the pattern we were going to copy (Penman/Empey Tape).

Regardless of the style of the garment the ability to successfully copy a garment from an illustration required considerable skill and experience in adapting a two-dimensional pattern to the three-dimensional female form.

5.5 Ready-to-wear and Dressmaking

Tuchscherer (1979) noted that the need to respond to the demands of fashion in the women's ready-to-wear industry limited the dress trade in its early years to production in small shops and through the contracting system. Dressmakers were still important producers of fashionable clothing. The change to a tubular dress silhouette led to the boom in the ready-to-wear dress industry which occurred in the United States during the first world war.

The fact that an acceptable ready-to-wear dress product was widely available by the early 1920s is tempered by the notion, still held by the earlier generation, that ready-to-wear garments were not quite fashionable enough. As Boyd (1982) remarked in reference to the nineteen-teens: "Mother would buy a dress when she was in New York or Toronto, but somehow she never felt quite as well turned out as when Miss Gemmill dressed her. It was not yet considered good taste to buy a ready-made dress" (p. 10). One dressmaker explained the appeal of custom-made clothing in this way: "People liked to come in and buy some cloth because nobody else had it. If we made it nobody else had it .... They picked the style and I sewed it (McMahon Tape)". This advertisement, however, suggests that the ready-made garment was serious competition to be countered with offers of superior quality, uniqueness and competitive price in a custom garment:

> Why wear Ready-Made Garments? We can make you a superior article at practically the same price and make it up right here in Edmonton. Select your own cloth and style. That is the advantage of real tailoring: your own ideas are carried out. Not the ideas of others. Special all-wool tweed suiting $55 per suit. Robinson's Tailoring Co., Direct Importers. Boost Edmonton Industries. Empire Block at First (1919/04/05 EJ).

The later generation, not raised with the practice or idea of using the services of a dressmaker, found the purchase of ready-to-wear clothing a more familiar and convenient way to obtain fashionable clothing. They may not have been as easily persuaded to buy custom-made clothing as their mothers.

Initially, only a limited number of garments were available ready-made, for example, undergarments, wrappers, house dresses, skirts and simple blouses. Gradually, a wider selection of garments were advertised and could be purchased. However, some garments continued to be made by dressmakers, for example, special occasion wear and evening gowns.

Consumer acceptance of ready-to-wear clothing naturally affected the production of custom-made clothing. The change was particularly evident in the women's retail clothing business where in-house dressmaking departments gave way to alteration departments for ready-to-wear garments and the promotion of dress goods emphasized home sewing and services for the home dressmaker. For example, Fox's Silk and Dress Fabric Specialty Store on 102 Street and Jasper Avenue advertised "two lady cutters will cut and fit garments for home dressmakers" (1921/03/01 EB).

The simple fashions and readily available patterns encouraged the home dressmaker to make her own clothing. By this time sewing machines were already a part of many households or could be readily purchased on an installment plan (Brandon, 1977). Stores such as the Hudson's Bay Company, Johnstone Walker and James Ramsey's advertised free cutting services along with Butterick and Pictorial Review patterns. Home Sewing Weeks were featured by the Hudson's Bay Company and Johnstone Walker (see advertisements of 1924/03/01 EJ and 1924/10/18 EJ in Appendix D).

The introduction into fashion of simpler, less constructed garments resulted in a change in the focus of some dressmakers. By the early 1920s there was an obvious trend followed by dressmakers and women's ready-to-wear clothing stores alike, toward services for the home sewer. As early as 1916, one dressmaker claimed she could "teach any lady who is good at drawing, how to cut, fit and put together any garment in the fashion book in two weeks" (1916/03/16 EB).

As noted earlier, a number of private, as well as the public schools , and individual dressmakers offered lessons and courses in dressmaking. Mail-order lessons in dressmaking, advertised in women's magazines such as *The Ladies' Home Journal*, *Every Woman's World*, and *Modern Priscilla*, were available through the Woman's Institute in Scranton, Pennsylvania. Extant copies of the lesson pamphlets and the books published by the Woman's Institute indicate that some Alberta women used these resources.[1]

Dressmakers who specialized in designing introduced the concept of ready-to-finish garments. For example, in 1916, Miss Driscoll advertised

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[1]For example, the Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection 83.5.2 and 83.5.3.

> A new gown for $5 Miss Driscoll will design, cut and fit to your measurements a gown ready to be finished at home by yourself or seamstress. Gown will be put on girdle foundation (1916/03/25 EJ).

In 1925, Mrs. Trower revived the idea:

> Mrs. Trower Dressmaker and Designer. Cutting, fitting, ready-to-finish $2.50. Phone 6337, 102 Adams Building (1925/04/06 EJ).

Johnstone Walker attempted a similar marketing scheme whereby a pattern and fabric, cut and ready-to-finish, were available at the store or through the mail:

> A new idea that solves the dressmaking problem and makes it possible for even the novice to make pretty frocks like these for $1.98. These semi-ready frocks come designed, cut and with trimmings all in one component package. A staff of experienced designers and cutters has prepared everything for you up to the time you open the package. If you live out of town order by mail (1926/06/03 EJ).

Extant examples of such garments can be found in the Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection at the University of Alberta, for example, 74.3.4 and 74.3.5. As with the ready-to-wear dress industry, a marked change in the dress product was necessary before ideas such as the marketing of ready-to-finish garments could be practicable and successful.

5.6 Research Methods Compared

5.6.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis of newspaper advertisements affords both quantitative and qualitative information on individuals who engaged in various sewing activities in Edmonton from 1900 to 1930. A count of individuals who advertised sewing activities when combined with information from additional sources can provide a useful point of comparison with census data. As well, information which is condensed in published census records, such as the type of work situation, is available in newspaper advertisements. For example, for purposes of the census an individual who worked out by the day was returned as an employee but appears in the published records as a wage earner along with employees who may have worked for a dressmaking establishment, a drycleaner or a retailer of women's ready-to-wear.

Content analysis of newspaper advertisements is most useful as an objective and systematic method of obtaining qualitative information about sewers and sewing

activities. Information on the location of sewers, the type of work situation, type of sewing and the skill level of sewers consistently appears. Additional descriptive information such as type of garment, price of garment or service and other services offered in conjunction with or instead of sewing, although occurring less frequently, can be obtained from advertisements.

Analysis of newspaper advertisements is limited to information on individuals who used this means of advertising their services. Other sources indicate that some sewers advertised their services in the *Henderson's Business Directory* only or by word-of-mouth. Newspaper advertisements do reveal the names of businesses which employed sewers and the names of companies which used homeworkers but do not reveal the name of these individuals. Information of this sort is available to a certain extent in the alphabetical section of the *Henderson's Business Directory* and through oral history. As well, newspaper advertisements do not accurately reflect the marital status of the advertiser or whether the address listed is a residential or business address.

As the identification of strengths and weaknesses of content analysis of newspaper advertisements indicates, the content of the advertisement is as important as the specific quantitative information that can be obtained from them. Newspaper advertisements are most valuable as a source of descriptive information about the advertisers.

5.6.2 Oral History

Oral history proved most valuable as a source of information about sewers who did not appear in any other source; for example, dressmakers who did not advertise in the newspapers and were not recorded in the *Henderson's Business Directory*. Oral history is also a source of information about women who sewed informally, for example, made their own clothing and did sewing for their families, friends and neighbours. Additional qualitative information obtained in oral history often augments and corroborates evidence from other sources.

Oral history can reveal attitudes about work in general and about work in sewing in particular. Attitudes toward social norms governing women's role within the

workplace and within the family are also implicitly revealed in the comments made.

As some of the previous examples have indicated, oral history can provide information about the career of an individual dressmaker and her use of her sewing skills over the years. In some cases the transfer of sewing skills from one generation to the next can be traced with the aid of oral history (McMahon Tape).

In addition, oral history can provide personal information about work arrangements. For example, one dressmaker worked with her mother in her home until she was able to get work with the Great West Garment Company (McMahon Tape). In another instance, the interviewee had occasionally assisted her sister in her dressmaking business even though she held a full-time job elsewhere (Penman/Empey Tape).

6. Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

6.1 Summary

The purpose of the study was to explore the use of sewing skills in both the formal and informal economy of Edmonton during the period 1900 to 1930. The primary objective was to utilize content analysis of newspaper advertisements as a means of obtaining quantitative and qualitative information on sewers and sewing activities. Sources such as published census records, the *Henderson's Business Directory*, the *Edmonton Telephone Directory*, and oral history interviews were used to augment and clarify the information gained in the content analysis. A list of the names and addresses of seamstresses, dressmakers and tailoresses was compiled along with the source(s) the names appeared in (see Appendix E).

The specific categories of the content analysis were: detail of location information given, the sex and marital status of the advertiser, the type of work situation advertised, the skill level advertised, the type of sewing advertised, garment type and price if listed, price of the service if listed, other services advertised in conjunction with sewing activities, and notice of employees or other workers occupied in sewing activities.

The combination of sources gives more complete information about sewers and their sewing activities than any single source. Each source has particular limitations.

Census records prior to 1911 are not specific to Edmonton. In the later census years the categories and methods of reporting information differ from year to year making comparisons from one census year to another difficult. Changes in basic concepts affected the collection, presentation and interpretation of data. This was particularly true of earlier records which used ambiguously defined terminology. The terms used gave no clear indication of the skill at which sewers were working. Married women were often recorded as housewives even if gainfully occupied and no account of the economic role of unpaid work was made. Census "reporting procedure undoubtedly failed to note part-season employment" (Betke, 1981, p. 494) and time employment. Specific problems with census data noted by Connelly (1978) were that between decade changes were missed in national statistics, discontinuities were created

by a revision of data collection areas and boundaries, and bias was introduced by the collection agency and the end-use of the information. Various ethnic groups are often misrepresented in the statistics, and, as noted, the method of payment of enumerators resulted in over-representation in some cases.

The census does contain information on the number of personal clothiers working in Edmonton and officially recorded as doing so, whether they were engaged as wage earners or otherwise gainfully occupied, as well as the age of sewers.

The *Henderson's Business Directory* does not consistently list dressmakers from one year to the next; for example, a dressmaker's name may not appear one year in a period of years although the same name appears in other sources such as newspaper advertisements. The listing of ladies' tailors is infrequent. The directory does, however, list the names of dressmakers who do not appear in newspaper advertisements. The alphabetical section of *Henderson's* yields useful location and employment details.

The cost of a listing in the business section of the *Henderson's Business Directory* may be the reason why the listings are limited and why some names disappear sporadically. The survey for the alphabetical section of the directory was conducted on a door-to-door, voluntary basis and therefore omissions were likely.

The primary value of the *Edmonton Telephone Directory* is as an additional source of names and addresses which correspond to telephone numbers listed in newspaper advertisements.

The cost of having a telephone determined who appeared in the directory and who had access to telephones. One telephone number might represent a number of people in a family, a boarding house, an apartment or shared business location.

Time constraints limited the search for archival sources to obvious references such as dressmaking manuals which Edmonton dressmakers may have used. The probability of finding documents such as business records, invoices, letters and diaries is low since most were not likely kept by businesses and individuals. As noted, some garments made by dressmakers are in collections, however documentation of garments is often scarce and dressmaker labels were not commonly used.

Newspapers are limited in that they were directed to a specific audience and had a specific readership. Often not all issues of a given newspaper are avilable to a

researcher. Newspapers used in this study excluded non-English readers from the population studied. The cost of advertising in a newspaper determined who advertised and how often it was used. Specific types of information were missing in advertisements, such as the sex and marital status of the advertiser, the cost of garments, what was included in the cost of a given garment and how much was earned per day or per garment.

A comparison of names derived from the various sources demonstrates the value of the combination of sources. Some newspaper advertisements contain the names of sewers who advertised their services, once or frequently. Advertisements listing a telephone number only can be matched with a name and address, prior to 1924, using the telephone directory as a cross-reference. A different set of names appears in the lists from *Henderson's Business Directory* when the overlap with newspaper advertisements is eliminated. Oral history reveals not only dressmakers who, for whatever reason did not advertise, but also hidden workers engaged in non-market sewing activities.

Newspaper advertisements in themselves contain a wealth of qualitative information about sewers and sewing activities. Content analysis is a useful method of systematically organizing that information. Oral history, although limited to specific information about individual dressmakers, adds depth to details found in newspaper advertisements; for example, whereas advertisements may indicate that a dressmaker sewed by the day - out, oral history can reveal some of the reasons why she preferred this type of work situation.

Oral history has the potential of discovering those individuals who do not appear in any other source, for example, homeworkers, women and children working within the family economy and casual workers. Hindrances to research are the obvious limitations set by age and death as well as the ineffectual means of systematically reaching potential interview candidates, a reluctance on the part of possible interviewees to talk to a researcher and the feeling among these people that their history is insignificant.

6.2 Conclusions

Historically, women's participation in the labour force has followed the cyclical expansion and contraction in the employment market. More women entered the work force during boom periods and left when jobs were scarce (Haber, 1973; Simeral, 1978). Women were usually the first to be fired and the last to be hired (Connelly, 1978). During periods of economic decline a greater number of women were more likely to engage in non-market activities which utilized their available skills such as sewing skill.

The periods when the greatest number of women were seeking some form of employment as tailoresses, dressmakers and seamstresses were economically unstable years for Edmonton and the prairie provinces. Sewing skills were utilized by a number of women as a means of securing some income during these periods. A greater number advertised dressmaking and plain sewing and more advertisements appeared for remodelling, repairing and mending. Although homework has been shown to increase during periods of economic decline, little evidence of homework in Edmonton was discovered and it does not appear to have been a significant part of sewing activities in the city.

Compared to cities with developed garment manufacturing industries which employed large numbers of women, such as Toronto, Montreal and Winnipeg, Edmonton remained a city dependent upon an agriculture and natural resource based economy. As Fraundorf (1979) pointed out "a woman's chance of finding a job depended very much on the industrial-occupational composition of the area" (p. 407). The employment level of women remained low in relation to men and the majority of women continued to be employed in service and white-collar occupations throughout the period 1900 to 1920 (see Table 2.1). During periods of economic decline manufacturing cities could more readily generate a situation in which factory homework could flourish. In Toronto, where the clothing industry was the most important industry in terms of women's employment, "many tailors, tailoresses and dressmakers worked at home under sweated conditions associated with subcontracting" (Piva, 1979, p. 18). The fact that more women in Edmonton

undertook sewing activities during periods of economic instability indicates that other more desirable jobs were not available. It is likely that a greater number of women engaged in some form of informal, non-market activity at such times even though the information sources do not include this sector of the economy.

The estimated number of sewers for the years 1910, 1920 and 1930 (see Table 4.5) shows the highest number of tailoresses and dressmakers in 1920 and a considerable decline in numbers by 1930. The numbers of seamstresses rose steadily each decade to reach the greatest number in 1930. Considering the newspaper data alone for the period, the number of tailoresses and dressmakers was highest during the years 1913 to 1916 and again in the early twenties. The number of sewers engaged in plain sewing was high in the early and late nineteen-teens and into the early twenties. All of the sewing occupations employed declining numbers throughout the twenties.

Economic changes begun before the First World War emerged again in the 1920s to create numerous jobs for women in clerical and service industry sectors of the Canadian economy (Phillips & Phillips, 1983). According to Ramkhalawansingh (1974) the "need for workers to fill new occupations forced the government to actively promote a change in attitude towards single working women" (p. 289). This work was available and more desirable than work in manufacturing because it was not subject to seasonal fluctuations in demand for a product, it was not physically taxing work and working conditions were better. Additional reasons for the decline in employment of women in sewing occupations were the increased development of the ready-to-wear garment industry during the 1920s and increased consumer acceptance of ready-to-wear clothing. A new generation of upper- and middle-class women purchased ready-made clothing from retail outlets rather than having it custom-made. Even though some women still felt that reay-to-wear clothing was not quite fashionable they purchased it nonetheless (Boyd, 1982). As a result, the dressmaker's clientele dwindled. The reay-to-wear clothing industry also made available a greater variety of cheaper clothing to working-class women.

The success of ready-to-wear women's clothing and the gradual widening of the job market for women led to an overall decline in the employment level of tailoresses, dressmakers and seamstresses. Fewer numbers were engaged in any type of sewing activity related to a custom dress product. A similar decline in the employment level of tailoresses, dressmakers and seamstresses occurred at an earlier date in Toronto (Piva, 1979) and in Denver and Fort Collins, Colorado (Trautman, 1979). More Edmonton dressmakers worked on the alteration of ready-to-wear garments and some changed their emphasis to dressmaking lessons and services for the home sewer.

The overall decrease in the numbers of tailoresses and dressmakers and the increase in the number of seamstresses during the period point to a decline in the skill level of those engaged in sewing activities. Census figures indicate an increase in the employment level in factory production of clothing, a trend which contributed to the lowering of the skill level of sewers in general.

Dressmaking and seamsterring were almost solely women's occupations whereas tailoring was an occupation for both males and females. Tailoring gradually became an occupation dominated by males with eventually fewer women employed by tailoring companies and few, if any, females being trained in tailoring. Dressmaking and seamsterring were temporary occupations worked by the day at home or out. There was flexibility in the work situation but also insecurity. Similar conclusions were drawn by Trautman (1979) regarding the work of personal clothiers in Colorado from 1880 to 1920.

Most advertisers specified the type of work situation as by the day - out and/or at home, and work in a tailoring and/or dressmaking establishment. Work by the week, hour or the piece, work at home only, work for a drycleaner, and work for retail was occasionally advertised. By the later half of the period studied a greater number of sewers worked in retail outlets doing alteration work on ready-to-wear garments.

A greater number of tailoresses and seamstresses were in the younger age bracket of 15 to 24 whereas dressmakers fell primarily into the 25 to 49 age

bracket. Dressmaking was an occupation which could be carried on into old age while tailoring and seamsterring were not. Seamstresses and some of the tailoresses may have been apprentices or learners and so were younger than dressmakers who had already spent time acquiring the skills.

6.3 Recommendations

1. An expansion of this study from the 29-day sample to a complete analysis of each day of selected years may yield more information on the use of sewing skills in the informal and formal economy of Edmonton from 1900 to 1930. The pilot study (Smith, 1984) conducted for the current research covered five year periods beginning with 1905. The years selected for further study could fall within periods when the economy of Edmonton was known to have been unstable, for example, during the years of World War I and the early 1920s.
2. An expansion of this study to include a content analysis of non-English language newspapers, such as Ukrainian and French language papers, would provide more complete information about sewers in Edmonton from 1900 to 1930.
3. An expansion of the oral history research to include members of the non-English speaking population, for example, Ukrainian and French, would provide representative information about other ethnic groups in the city. A comparison of the use of sewing skills between groups may reveal interesting similarities and differences.
4. An extension of the content analysis of newspaper advertisements into the 1930s may reveal more information on time-related questions. For example, was there a continued trend toward the remodelling of clothing and an emphasis on home sewing?
5. An extension of the content analysis of newspaper advertisements in the *Edmonton Bulletin* and the *Strathcona Plaindealer* to include the years from 1880 to 1900 may provide useful comparative information. Combined with the information about later years, for example, the 1930s, more complete evidence of change in the use of sewing skills over time may be revealed.

6. Selected names of individual tailoresses, ladies' tailors, dressmakers and seamstresses obtained from this study would provide a useful starting point for continued research. For example, dressmakers known to have been in business for a number of years may have been more likely to generate evidence of their activities than would someone who advertised her sewing services only once. Individuals or their families could perhaps be traced and located for oral histories or potential holdings of artifacts.
7. An expansion of this study to include mapping of dressmakers within Edmonton from 1900 to 1930 would provide useful information on the change over time in the geographic concentration of sewers and the response to urban development. The mapping of locations, combined with research on the sewing activities of ethnic groups may uncover interesting patterns in the use of sewing skills. For example, did dressmakers sew within or outside their ethnic group and geographic location?
8. A further analysis of the alphabetical section of the *Henderson's Business Directory* would provide specific information. For example, the names of tailoresses, dressmakers and seamstresses, whether they worked on their own or as an employee, and the residential and business addresses, are details available in this section. Although a time consuming task, the analysis may be justified by the fact that the information gained is not as readily available in other sources.
9. Continued research of archival sources is needed including: records of partnership registration, Edmonton School Board and Department of Education records, photographs of streetscapes, defunct company records, invoices, bills, contracts, flyers, diaries and letters. Dressmakers who gave dressmaking lessons may have used notebooks for lesson plans or sketches; these are also possible sources.
10. An in-depth study of large businesses in operation for a number of years, for example, the Forbes-Taylor Company, may provide details not uncovered by this content analysis. For example, information about the operation of a large establishment, the assignment of tasks and the the process of garment manufacture used may exist in archival form.

11. A continued search for information on companies advertising for homeworkers, for example, the National Manufacturing Company of Montreal, may provide details of the company's interaction with sewers in Edmonton and a better estimate of homeworkers than was possible in the current study.
12. The study of the informal exchange of sewing skills may be expanded by further oral history research. Other sources, such as diaries and letters, may also provide information on informal sewing activities.
13. Replication of this study for other cities, such as Calgary, would provide a useful point of comparison within the region. Comparison with older, larger and more industrialized cities such as Toronto and Montreal would provide assistance in interpreting the studies which have already been carried out for these locations.
14. An expansion of the analysis of the data obtained from a content analysis of newpaper advertisements with specific emphasis on the date of the advertisements may provide additional information. It may be possible to determine if the advertising followed seasonal trends in the dressmaking business and what type of advertisements did not follow the seasonal flux, for example, advertisement of remodelling and alteration work.
15. An expansion of the content analysis of newspaper advertisements to a detailed semantic analysis may reveal useful information about the terminology used to designate specific sewing activities, for example, plain sewing or family sewing. The conjunction and juxtaposition of words may clarify the terminology and may describe trends in the communication content.
16. The application of the research method of content analysis to advertisements for ready-to-wear clothing may provide useful information about the interface of ready-to-wear with custom clothing. Such a study may show changes in terminology and communication content related to a change in consumer attitudes to the custom product and to ready-to-wear clothing.
17. Research of other sources of clothing, for example, second-hand clothing stores, is needed. Newspaper advertisements are a possible source of information.
18. Research of the role of males in tailoring, especially tailors who made women's clothing, is needed. The research would provide useful comparative information

related to females in sewing occupations.

19. Research of other labour intensive occupations dominated by males, for example, barbering, masonry and carpentry is needed to provide comparative information to studies of female-dominated occupations such as domestic service, teaching, nursing and dressmaking.

20. A search of collections for garments made by tailoresses, ladies' tailors, dressmakers and seamstresses is needed. The construction of garments known to have been custom-made could be studied in order to assess the skill level of sewers in Edmonton. In addition, existing garments could give an indication of what dressmakers were actually making.

21. Museums and archives should be encouraged to include questions about dressmaking when information is being gathered from donors (see the questionnaires in Appendix B). By having a set of questions ready collecting agencies may obtain more information about custom-made garments or may encourage the donation of related artifacts.

22. Museums, archives and local history societies should be encouraged to conduct more oral history. Many people are potential interview candidates and all possibilities should be considered. Specific question sets can be developed to generate the desired information. See the questionnaires in Appendix B for examples.

23. Museums should be encouraged to collect the tools of dressmakers, drafting manuals, non-commercial patterns and ready-to-finish garments. If collectors were aware, for example, that some dressmakers made their own patterns they may be alerted to look for patterns drawn on newsprint or other materials.

24. Living history museums should be encouraged to represent small entrepreneurs, such as dressmakers, in their installations. As this study has shown, small businesses and less formal activities such as dressmaking by the day may have been a significant part of the life of the community.

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Newspapers

The Edmonton Daily Bulletin, 1900-1930.

The Edmonton Journal, 1903-1930.

The Strathcona Plaindealer, (South Edmonton News), 1900-1912.

Oral History Sources

Tape-recorded Oral History Interviews

Note: The following tape-recorded oral history interviews are housed in the Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta.

Emslie Interview, Tape 1001

Penman/Empey Interview, Tape 1002

Calder Interview, Tape 1003

Reesik Interview, Tape 1004A

Gallagher Interview, Tape 1004B

Kier Interview, Tape 1005

McMahon Interview, Tape 1006

Telephone Interviews

Barford Interview

Pirie Interview

Cold Weather Clothing Project, Historic Costume & Textile Study Collection - Oral History

Brown (Mrs. Irene) Interview

Reeves (Helena) Interview

Wenger (Marie) Interview

Historic Costume & Textile Study Collection Donor Interviews

Matheson (Mrs. Jean)

Raven (Mrs. Marion) - Tape-recorded Interview

Provincial Archives of Alberta, Edmonton

Silverman Tape #13

Appendix A

Coding Rules and Coding Sheets

Coding Rules for Newspaper Advertisements & Oral Histories

1. Enter the source of information, for example, *Edmonton Journal*, *Strathcona Plaindealer*, oral history.

2. If available, enter the name of the advertiser or interviewee with the surname first and given name and initials last. If no name is given leave the space blank. Left justify with blanks.

3. If available, enter the address as given in the advertisement. If no address is given leave the space blank. Left justify with blanks. When two addresses are given in an advertisement, for example, a dressmaker is advertising a change of address, two separate entries must be made.

4. Enter the date of the advertisement as three separate variables, each consisting of two digits, for the year, the month and the day. Enter "99" as a missing value. In the case of an oral history, where a range of years is given, a separate entry is made for each year of the period of years noted, for example, if a dressmaker worked from 1915 to 1920 an entry would be recorded for each year of the six-year period.

5. Enter the page number of the page on which the advertisement appears; a single digit page number should be entered with two digits, for example, 01. Missing values are coded (99). A missing issue or page of a newspaper is coded (88); a Sunday is coded (77); and, if no new advertisements appear for the day sampled, (66) is coded.

6. Enter the section of the newspaper in which the advertisement appears. The section must be specifically labeled, for example, as Classified - Situations Vacant or Classified - Personal in order to code that corresponding value. Any information that does not fall into any of the labeled categories is coded as "other" and the advertisement is photocopied. A missing value is coded as (9).

7. Enter sex as "female" or "male" only if it is specified by a title such as "Miss," "Mrs.," "Madame," or "Mr". If a name is given without a title code (3) for indeterminate. Otherwise, code (9) for a missing value.

8. When marital status is specified as "Miss" it is coded (1). If specified as "Mrs." or "Madame' code (2). For "Mr.", since marital status cannot be determined, code (3) for indeterminate. If marital status is not thus indicated code (9) for a missing value.

9. Location information is coded according to the completeness of the information. "Box number" usually refers to an anonymous newspaper box number; however, a Post Office box number would be considered as a full address and would be coded (2). If no address is given code (9) for a missing value.

10. For the variable, Level of Skill, the types of sewing are ranked according to the skill required by the sewer; for example, to design and execute a garment required

more skill than to make a garment from a commercial pattern as some dressmakers may have done. Therefore, if tailoring, dressmaking, and plain sewing are all indicated in the same advertisement the variable would be coded for tailoring or (03). If "sewing" only is listed code as "plain sewing"; "children's sewing" is coded as "plain sewing". Types of sewing not included in the list are coded as (10) for other. Missing values are coded (99).

11. For the variables, Type of Sewing I, II, and III each category listed in the advertisement is coded. If fewer than three types of sewing are indicated enter (8) in the remaining spaces and (9) for missing data.

12. Type of Work Situation is coded as specified in the advertisement or oral history. If a combination of work situations is indicated, for example, work by the hour - home or out, work by the day - home or out, the combination is coded separately as (12) or (11) respectively. If an advertisement or oral history says "work by the day" or "work by the hour" enter the code for the combination . A missing value is coded (99). If an address is given but there is no indication that it is a residential or business address enter (88) for indeterminate.

13. The type of garment is entered as listed in the advertisement or oral history; up to four values can be coded for this variable. In order to code "tailored garment" the word, tailored, should appear with the exception of suits which will be considered as tailored garments. Similarly, evening wear or gowns and gentleman's clothing, must be specifically named as such in the advertisement or oral history. In order to code "all kinds" the advertisement or oral history should say "all kinds," "any kind," or "any description," or a synonymous term. Any information that does not fall into the designated categories is coded as "other" or (12). Missing values (if no information is given or if fewer than four values are given) are coded (99).

14. Enter the price of the garment quoted in the advertisement. The entry is right justified and a decimal point is entered, for example, $1.00 would be entered as 01.00. Up to eight garment types may be entered for price. Missing values, if no information is given or if less than four values are given, are coded in each column. The first value recorded should correspond to the first garment type recorded for the type of garment variable; the order of prices recorded should correspond directly with the order of type of garment recorded.

15. Enter the price charged per day as quoted in the advertisement. The entry is right justified and a decimal point is entered. Missing values are coded (9) in each column.

16. Enter the price charged per hour as quoted in the advertisement. The entry is right justified and a decimal point is entered. Missing values are coded (9) in each column.

17. Enter the codes for the other services offered in conjunction with sewing services; up to three responses can be coded. For information that does not fit the categories indicated code as "other" and specify the other service in the remaining space on the coding sheet. Missing values are coded (99).

18. Enter the code for the other worker specified, for example, apprentice, improver. Enter (9) if no other workers are specified. Note the possible combinations that can be coded.

Coding Sheet for Newspaper and Oral History Data

Variable	Value
ID Number	4 columns
Record Number	one column
Information Type	1 Newspaper 2 Supplementary
Source	1 Edmonton Journal 2 Edmonton Bulletin 3 Strathcona Plaindealer 4 Oral History
Name	24 columns enter name in full blanks for missing values
Address	26 columns enter address in full blanks for missing values
Telephone Number	5 columns number in full; right justify
Year	YY
Month	MM
Day	DD
Page	actual number entered 99 entered for missing value 88 entered for a missing issue 77 entered for Sunday 66 entered for no new ads
Newspaper section	01 With news item 02 Classified - Personal 03 Classified - Situations Vacant 04 Classified - Situations Wanted 05 Classified - Business Cards 06 Classified - Dressmaking 07 Classified - Misc. Wants

	08 Classified - Business Chances 09 Classified - Ladies' Tailor 10 Woman's Page 11 Too Late to Classify 99 Missing Value
Sex	1 Female 2 Male 3 Indeterminate 9 Missing value
Marital Status	1 Single 2 Married 3 Widow/er 4 Indeterminate 9 Missing value
Location Information	1 Address and phone number 2 Address only 3 Phone number only 4 Box number only 5 Other 9 Missing value
Level of Sewing Skill	01 Designing 02 Cutting 03 Tailoring 04 Dressmaking 05 Family Sewing 06 Remodelling 07 Alterations 08 Plain sewing/seamstressing 10 Dressmaking Lessons 11 Other 99 Missing value
Type of Sewing I	Code a value listed under Level of Sewing Skill
Type of Sewing II	Code a value listed under Level of Sewing Skill
Type of Sewing III	Code a value listed under Level of Sewing Skill
Type of Work Situation	01 Tailoring establishment 02 Dressmaking establishment 03 Work by the day - at home 04 Work by the day - out

05 Work by the hour - home
06 Work by the hour - out
07 Work at home
08 Work for a retail store
09 Work for drycleaner
10 Homework for manufacturer
11 both #3 and 4
12 both #5 and 6
13 #2 to 4 inclusive
14 both #4 and 7
15 #3 to 6 inclusive
16 both #2 and #4
17 both #4 and #6
18 by the week - out
19 both #4 and #18
20 both #1 and #2
21 both #7 and Afternoons
22 both #11 and #18
23 both #7 and #18
24 #3, #4 and #77 together
25 both #11 and #77
77 Other
99 Missing value
88 Indeterminate

Type of Garment

01 Tailored garment
02 Outer garments
03 Evening wear / gowns
04 Dresses / frocks
05 Blouses / waists
06 Skirts
07 Underclothing
08 Infants' / children's clothing
09 Gentleman's garments
10 All kinds
12 Other
13 Ready-to-wear
99 Missing value

Price charged per garment

List the actual price.
Eight garment variables
1 Suit
2 Coat
3 Fancy dress
4 Plain dress / House dress
5 Skirt
6 Fancy waist / blouse
7 Plain waist / blouse
8 Children's clothing
9 Missing value

Price charged per day

5 columns

Record actual price

Price charged per hour

5 columns
Record actual price

Other Services

01 Fabrics/notions
02 Mending/darning
03 Needlework/fancy work
04 Millinery
05 Drycleaning/laundry
06 Childcare
07 Photographic retouching
08 Music lessons
10 Furs altered/repaired
11 Housework/cooking
12 Other language
13 Importing
14 both #5 and #11
15 both #2 and #3
16 both #2 and #5
17 both #3 and #4
18 #3, #5 and #10 together
19 both #11 and #88
20 both #2 and #11
21 both #2 and #6
22 #6, #11 and #12 together
23 both #3 and #88
24 both #3 and #5
25 both #11 and #12
26 both #2 and #4
27 both #2 and #88
28 both #3 and #11
29 both #5 and #10
88 Other
99 Missing value

Other Workers

01 Apprentice
02 Improver
03 Hand/maker
04 Helper/assistant
05 Finisher
06 Draper
07 Dressmaker
08 Tailoress/Ladies' Tailor
09 Seamstress
10 both #1 and 2
11 both #3 and 4
12 both #5 and 6
13 both #1 and 7
14 #1,3 and 4 together
15 both #1 and #4
16 both #1 and #8
17 both #4 and #5

18 both #1 and #3
19 both #4 and #7
20 both #2 and #3
21 both #3 and #8
22 both #2 and #5
23 both #1 and #5
24 both #7 and #8
25 both #3 and #5
26 #1, #5 and #8 together
27 both #2 and #4
28 both #5 and #8
29 both #4 and #8
30 both #5 and #88
31 #4, #7 and #8 together
32 both #5 and #7
33 both #8 and #9
34 both #1 and #9
35 both #7 and #88
88 Indeterminate
99 Missing value

Coding Rules for Henderson's and the Edmonton Telephone Directory

1. Enter the source of information.

2. Enter the date of the advertisement as three separate variables , each consisting of two digits, for the year, the month and the day. Enter (99) as a missing value. As with oral history data, if a range of years is given in the information source, an entry should be made for each year of the period noted.

3. Enter the name of the sewer in full beginning with the surname and following with the given name and initials, for example, Mrs. I. E. English would be coded as EnglishIE. Left justify the entry with blanks. If no name is given leave blank.

4. Enter the address in full recording both numbers and alphanumerics in a string. Left justify the entry using blanks. If no address is given leave blank.

5. Enter sex as female or male only if specified as such by a title. Enter (3) if sex is indeterminate, for example, a name is given without a title. Enter (9) for a missing value.

6. Enter marital status as indicated by title for female; since marital status cannot be determined from the title "Mr." enter (3) for indeterminate. Enter (9) for a missing value.

7. Location information is coded according to the completeness of the information. A Post Office box number is coded (2) whereas a newspaper box number is coded (4). Missing values are coded (9).

8. The type of sewing as indicated by the value labels should be specified in the source material. specified code for a missing value (9).

Coding Sheet for Henderson's and the Edmonton Telephone Directory

Variable	Value
ID Number	4 columns
Record Number	one column
Information Type	1 Newspaper 2 Supplementary
Source	1 Henderson's

2 Telephone Directory

Year	YY
Month	MM
Day	DD
Name	24 columns enter name in full
Address	26 columns enter address in full
Telephone	5 columns
Sex	1 Female 2 Male 3 Indeterminate 9 Missing value
Marital Status	1 Single 2 Married 3 Widow / er 4 Indeterminate 9 Missing value
Location Information	1 Address and Phone Number 2 Address only 3 Phone Number only 4 Box Number 9 Missing value
Type of Sewing	01 Tailoress / Ladies' Tailor 02 Apprentice Tailoress 03 Dressmaker 04 Apprentice Dressmaker 05 Seamstress 06 Other Clothing Maker 07 both #1 and #3 08 Designer 09 Missing Value 10 both #3 and #5

Appendix B

Questionnaire 1: Dressmaker sewing for herself and family

Questionnaire 2: Dressmaker working in/out of her home or in a shop

Questionnaire 3: Employee working in dressmaking shop or ready-to-wear store

Questionnaire 4: Employee of a garment manufacturer

Questionnaire 5: Individuals using services of a dressmaker or tailoress

DRESSMAKING QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER 1:

(Dressmaker sewing for herself and family)

Interview Date:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Name:

Address:

Telephone:

Biographical Data:

1. Where were you born?
2. When were you born?
3. If not born in Edmonton, when did you come to Edmonton?
4. Parents' names:
   a. Father:
   b. Mother:
5. Occupation of Father:
6. Occupation of Mother:
7. Husband:
   a. Name:
   b. Occupation:
8. When were you married?
9. How many years have you lived in Edmonton?
10. When did you begin dressmaking?
11. How did you acquire your dressmaking skills?
    a. Nature of the training (how taught, skills taught)?
    b. Length of training period?
    c. When was training undertaken?

d. Where was training undertaken?

e. Who was the teacher?

f. What texts were used?

g. Was other training included i.e. Business training?

h. What was the first job you could obtain with this training?

12. In what ways have you used your dressmaking skills?

13. If dressmaking skills were used to sew for yourself and your family:

a. Who did you sew for?

b. What was made?

c. Was sewing done on a regular basis or seasonally?

d. How long did you continue to sew for the family?

e. Did you sew for anyone else besides family members?

f. Dressmaking methods used:

g. commercial patterns

h. individually drafted patterns

i. no pattern used

14. If pattern drafting was done:

a. method used

b. tools used

c. was a special drafting system used?

d. how long would it take to draft an average pattern?

e. what types of garments was pattern drafting most often used for?

15. Was draping used in dressmaking?

a. Was a standard dress form used or was a form made?

b. How often, and for what type of garments, was draping used?

c. How long would it take to drape the average garment?

16. What method of garment fitting was used?

a. with the tissue pattern before cutting

b. in fabric while the garment is being sewn

17. What was your source of fashion information?

a. magazines

b. catalogues

c. ready-to-wear styles seen in retail outlets

18. What was your source of materials?

a. Availability of patterns, fabrics, trims, notions, etc.?

b. Selection available?

c. Quality and cost?

d. Was anything particularly difficult to obtain?

e. Which fabrics were commonly used?

f. Did the materials available influence the type of garment made?

If so, in what ways?

19. Did certain fabrics require special techniques?

If so, explain the techniques.

20. Did fashion change affect the techniques used?

21. In your experience, how much work was done by machine and how much by hand?

22. Do you have any photographs of you at the time you were dressmaking?

23. Do you have any examples of patterns or garments you made during the time you were dressmaking?

24. Do you have any written records i.e. diary, notes which refer to your dressmaking?

DRESSMAKING QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER 2:

(Dressmaker working in/out of her home or in a shop)

Interview Date:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Name:

Address:

Telephone:

Biographical Data:

1. Where were you born?
2. When were you born?
3. If not born in Edmonton, when did you come to Edmonton?
4. Parents' names:
   a. Father:
   b. Mother:
5. Occupation of Father:
6. Occupation of Mother:
7. Husband:
   a. Name:
   b. Occupation:
8. When were you married?
9. How many years have you lived in Edmonton?
10. When did you begin dressmaking?
11. How did you acquire your dressmaking skills?
    a. Nature of the training (how taught, skills taught)?
    b. Length of training period?
    c. When was training undertaken?

d. Where was training undertaken?

e. Who was the teacher?

f. What texts were used?

g. Was other training included i.e. Business training?

h. What was the first job you could obtain with this training?

12. In what ways have you used your dressmaking skills?

13. Did you operate your business in a shop, in your home, or in the homes of your customers?

14. Information on each type of dressmaking establishment:

a. Location

b. When was the business started?

c. How long was the business operated?

d. How easy or difficult was it to start a dressmaking business?

- capital necessary
- equipment necessary
- where was equipment purchased?
- how was a clientele developed?

15. Were other people employed in the business?

- tasks
- number of employees
- number of hours worked per day, days per week, and months per year
- average age of employees
- how long did an employee usually remain with the establishment
- names and marital status (if possible)

16. How closely was fashion followed by the average client?

17. What was your source of materials?

a. Availability of patterns, fabrics, trims, notions, etc.?

b. Selection available?

c. Quality and cost?

d. Was anything particularly difficult to obtain?

e. Which fabrics were commonly used?

f. Did the materials available influence the type of garment made?

If so, in what ways?

18. Did certain fabrics require special techniques?

If so, explain the techniques.

19. Did fashion change affect the techniques used?

20. In your experience, how much work was done by machine and how much by hand?

21. How did you solicit customers?

- word-of-mouth
- newspaper advertisement
- advertisement in retail store selling dry goods/ready-to-wear

22. If you were planning an advertisement for your dressmaking service, what would this type of dressmaking be called?

- by the hour
- by the day, in
- by the day, out

23. How did the dressmaking business change over the time you were involved in it?

24. When did you stop dressmaking as paid employment?

25. Do you have any photographs of you at the time you were dressmaking?

26. Do you have any examples of patterns or garments you made during the time you were dressmaking?

27. Do you have any written records i.e. diary, notes which refer to your dressmaking?

C

DRESSMAKING QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER 3:

(Employee working in dressmaking shop or ready-to-wear store)

Interview Date:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Name:

Address:

Telephone:

Biographical Data:

1. Where were you born?
2. When were you born?
3. If not born in Edmonton, when did you come to Edmonton?
4. Parents' names:
   a. Father:
   b. Mother:
5. Occupation of Father:
6. Occupation of Mother:
7. Husband:
   a. Name
   b. Occupation
8. When were you married?
9. How many years have you lived in Edmonton?
10. When did you begin dressmaking?
11. How did you acquire your dressmaking skills?
    a. Nature of the training (how taught, skills taught)?
    b. Length of training period?
    c. When was training undertaken?

d. Where was training undertaken?

e. Who was the teacher?

f. What texts were used?

g. Was other training included i.e. Business training?

h. What was the first job you could obtain with this training?

12. In what ways have you used your dressmaking skills?

13. Who did you work for?

14. What was the location of the business?

15. When did you begin work there and in what capacity did you start?

16. What type of work did you do?

17. Did this job have a specific title? If so, what was the title?

18. How long did you work at this position?

19. Did you progress to more skilled work over time?

20. How were you paid?

21. How many hours did you work per week? per month? per year?

22. How many other employees were there?

23. What steps were usually taken from the time a garment was requested by a client and the time it was finished? Could you outline these steps?

24. Nature of the business:

a. Seasonal

b. Type of client

- degree of fashion interest
- number of garments had made per year
- type of garment usually had made
- age range

c. Number of clients

d. Were most clients of the same economic or social position?

25. Type of dressmaking most often done:

- plain sewing
- plain dressmaking

- fancy dressmaking
- tailoring

26. Type of garments made:
    - Which type of garments were most often made?
    - Did you have any particular area of specialization?
27. How were prices set?
28. What was the average cost of a garment?
29. What is the average number of clients you would have in a year?
30. What is the average number of garments made in a year?
31. What was the approximate annual income for a year?
32. How much direct competition was there and what did you do to compete?
33. Did you advertise?
    - How often?
    - What type of advertising did you do?
    - How effective do you think it was?
34. Did you employ other people in your business? If so, how many and in what capacity?
35. How did the dressmaking business change over the time you were involved in it?
36. Dressmaking methods used:
    a. commercial patterns
    b. individually drafted patterns
    c. no pattern used
37. If pattern drafting was done:
    a. method used
    b. tools used
    c. was a special drafting system used?
    d. how long would it take to draft an average pattern?
    e. what types of garments was pattern drafting most often used for?
38. Was draping used in dressmaking?
    a. Was a standard dress form used or was a form made?

b. How often, and for what type of garments, was draping used?

c. How long would it take to drape the average garment?

39. What method of garment fitting was used?

a. with the tissue pattern before cutting

b. in fabric while the garment is being sewn

40. What was your source of fashion information?

a. magazines

b. catalogues

c. ready-to-wear styles seen in retail outlets

41. What was your source of materials?

a. Availability of patterns, fabrics, trims, notions, etc.?

b. Selection available?

c. Quality and cost?

d. Was anything particularly difficult to obtain?

e. Which fabrics were commonly used?

f. Did the materials available influence the type of garment made?

If so, in what ways?

42. Did certain fabrics require special techniques?

If so, explain the techniques.

43. Did fashion change affect the techniques used?

44. In your experience, how much work was done by machine and how much by hand?

45. What was considered an acceptable standard of quality in garment construction?

- amount of handwork
- amount and type of detailing
- quality of materials used

46. When did you leave this employment? Why?

47. Do you have any photographs of you at the time you were dressmaking?

48. Do you have any examples of patterns or garments you made during the time you were dressmaking?

49. Do you have any written records i.e. diary, notes which refer to your

dressmaking?

DRESSMAKING QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER 4:

(Employee of a garment manufacturer)

Interview Date:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Name:

Address:

Telephone:

Biographical Data:

1. Where were you born?
2. When were you born?
3. If not born in Edmonton, when did you come to Edmonton?
4. Parents' names:
   a. Father:
   b. Mother:
5. Occupation of Father:
6. Occupation of Mother:
7. Husband:
   a. Name:
   b. Occupation:
8. When were you married?
9. How many years have you lived in Edmonton?
10. When did you begin dressmaking?
11. How did you acquire your dressmaking skills?
    a. Nature of the training (how taught, skills taught)?
    b. Length of training period?
    c. When was training undertaken?

d. Where was training undertaken?

e. Who was the teacher?

f. What texts were used?

g. Was other training included i.e. Business training?

h. What was the first job you could obtain with this training?

12. In what ways have you used your dressmaking skills?

13. Where did you do the work, in your home or at the manufacturer's location?

14. What was the address, if different than the present one?

15. Name and location of the manufacturer worked for?

16. When did you begin working for this company?

17. What type of work did you do?

18. Did this job have a specific title? If so, what was its title?

19. How long did you work at this position?

20. Did you progress to more skilled work?

21. Was there room for advancement from one job to another within the business?

22. What was the nature of the work?

- piecework
- total garment sewn by same sewer
- type of garments sewn
- number of types of garments sewn

23. How many hours did you work per day? days per week? months per year?

24. How was the wage determined?

25. What was the wage and did the wage change over time?

26. What were the working conditions like?

27. How long did you work at this job?

28. Dressmaking methods used:

a. commercial patterns

b. individually drafted patterns

c. no pattern used

29. If pattern drafting was done:

a. method used

b. tools used

c. was a special drafting system used?

d. how long would it take to draft an average pattern?

e. what types of garments was pattern drafting most often used for?

30. Was draping used in dressmaking?

a. Was a standard dress form used or was a form made?

b. How often, and for what type of garments, was draping used?

c. How long would it take to drape the average garment?

31. What method of garment fitting was used?

a. with the tissue pattern before cutting

b. in fabric while the garment is being sewn

32. What was your source of fashion information?

a. magazines

b. catalogues

c. ready-to-wear styles seen in retail outlets

33. Do you have any photographs of you at the time you were dressmaking?

34. Do you have any examples of patterns or garments you made during the time you were dressmaking?

35. Do you have any written records i.e. diary, notes which refer to your dressmaking?

DRESSMAKING QUESTIONNAIRE NUMBER 5:

(Individuals using the services of a dressmaker or tailoress)

Interview Date:

Interviewer:

Interviewee:

Name:

Address:

Telephone:

Biographical Data:

1. Where were you born?
2. When were you born?
3. If not born in Edmonton, when did you come to Edmonton?
4. Parents' Names:
   a. Father:
   b. Mother
5. Occupation of Father:
6. Occupation of Mother:
7. When were you married?
8. Husband
   a. Name:
   b. Occupation:
9. How many years have you lived in Edmonton?
10. Address in Edmonton if different from present address.

11. When did you use the services of a seamstress, dressmaker or tailor/ess?
12. Name or names of individual seamstresses, dressmakers or tailor/esses whose services you used.

13. Did you go to the dressmaker's home or place of business or did the dressmaker come to your home? Was there a specific term used for the type of service offered?
14. If the customer went to the dressmaker's home or shop, address or location of the individual dressmaker or dressmaking establishment used?
15. If the dressmaker went to the customer's home:
    a. How were her services requested? (booked in advance on a regular basis, called when special need arose)
    b. When did she usually come?
    c. How long did she stay?
    d. How many members and which members of the family was sewing done for?
    e. What types of garments were usually made?
    f. How much work was she asked to do each time?
    g. How was payment for her services determined?
    h. Did she perform other services besides dressmaking, for example, millinery or teaching others sewing skills?
    i. In your estimation, how skillful was the dressmaker?
    j. How were you made aware of this dresamaker's services, through word-of-mouth, through a retail outlet or through a newspaper advertisement?
    k. Can you explain the process that was undertaken from the time the dressmaker arrived until her work was finished?
    l. What was your source of fashion information? Did the
    m. Did the dressmaker provide fashion information as part of the service?
16. If the customer went to the dressmaker's or tailor/ess' place of business:
    a. Did the dressmaker work from her home or from a separate business location?
    b. How were you made aware of this dressmaker's or tailor/ess' services, through word-of-mouth, through a retail outlet or through a newspaper advertisement?

c. When did you use the services of a dressmaker or tailor/ess?

d. Did the dressmaker specialize in a particular type of sewing or garment?

e. What type of garment(s) did you have made?

f. How many garments did you have made there?

g. How was a price determined for a garment?

h. How much did a typical garment cost, for example, a dress, a skirt?

i. How long did it take from the time a garment was requested and the time it was completed?

j. What was your source of fashion information? Did the dress

k. Did the dressmaker provide fashion information as part of the service?

17. If the customer used the services of a dressmaker working from a retail outlet, for example, a dry goods store or a women's clothing store:

a. Name of business from which the dressmaker worked?

b. Type of garment(s) made?

c. What type of garment(s) did you have made?

d. How many garments did you have made there?

e. How was a price determined for a garment?

f. How much would a typical garment cost?

g. What was your source of fashion information? Did the dressmaker provide fashion information?

h. Where were fabrics and other supplies purchased?

i. Did materials available influence the type of garment made? If so, in what ways?

j. In your estimate, how many clients did the dressmaker have?

k. When did you usually use the dressmaker's services?

l. Did the dressmaker work alone or were there other employees involved in dressmaking part of the business?

m. When did the retail outlet begin this service?

n. When was the service discontinued?

18. If dressmaking establishment used:

a. How was the establishmanet arranged i.e. separate consulting room and workroom?

b. How many employees were there? Did each employee have a specific job title?

c. What is your estimate of the number of clients the business had in a given year?

d. When was the business busiest?

e. Did the services offered change over time?

f. How were you made aware of this business, through advertising, by word-of-mouth?

g. Did the business specialize in any particular type of garment or type of dressmaking?

h. What type of advertising was done?

i. What type of garments were made?

j. How was a price determined for a typical garment?

k. What would an average garment cost?

l. Did the business provide fashion information? If so, in what form? If not, what was your source of fashion information?

m. Where were materials obtained?

19. When did you stop using the services of a seamstress, dressmaker or tailor/ess? Why?

20. Do you have any photographs of you at the time you were dressmaking?

21. Do you have any examples of patterns or garments you made during the time you were dressmaking?

22. Do you have any written records i.e. diary, notes which refer to your dressmaking?

Appendix C

1 - Advertisement of the research project requesting oral history participants

2 - Consent Form for participants in oral history

3 - Tape Release Form

Were you a dressmaker? Did you have a dressmaker make clothes for you? Dressmaking in Edmonton, 1900 to 1930 is a research project with the aim of discovering how women used their sewing and dressmaking skills as a means of clothing themselves and their families or as a paid occupation. Oral history interviews will be conducted with anyone who practiced seamstering, dressmaking or tailoring as an occupation and those individuals who used the services of a seamstress, dressmaker, or tailor/ess during the period under study.

Those individuals interested in contributing to this project are asked to contact Dianne R. Smith at:

115 Home Economics Building,
University of Alberta,
Edmonton, Alberta,
T6G 2M8,
or call:
432-5385, 432-2528 or 488-1563.

Dressmaking in Edmonton, 1900 to 1930 is a research project with the aim of discovering how women used their sewing skills.

The use of sewing skills covered a range of activities including sewing for oneself or one's family, occasional sewing for payment in cash or in kind, sewing for customers at home or in the customer's home, dressmaking or tailoring as a business, homework for a garment manufacturer, and dressmaking or tailoring in a retail clothing or a dry goods store. Written information about these sewing activities is limited. Individuals who engaged in any of the various sewing activities can offer firsthand information about their experiences. Their knowledge can make a unique contribution to the existing historical record.

By participating in the research project, Dressmaking in Edmonton, 1900 to 1930, you can contribute to our present knowledge of sewing, dressmaking , and tailoring activities in Edmonton during the period.

Thank-you for your interest in the project.

I hereby consent to participate as an oral history interviewee for the research project, Dressmaking in Edmonton, 1900 to 1930.

Signed: _____

Dated: _____

Tape Number: _____

Name: _____

TAPE RELEASE

I hereby release all rights to this tape recorded material to the Historic Costume and Textile Study Collection, University of Alberta. It may be used for educational and research purposes. It is understood that any conditions specified below apply during my lifetime only.

Special comments or conditions: none ☐
or

_____

_____

_____

_____

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Understood and agreed to:

_____
Interviewer/Recorder

_____
Date

Appendix D, pages 146 to 161, was removed due to the poor quality of the photocopies. Appendix D contains a sampling of advertisements, some of which are photocopies from the microfilm of the original newspaper.

Appendix E

Names and Addresses of Sewers

Abbreviations:

B = Edmonton Daily Bulletin

J = Edmonton Journal

S = Strathcona Plaindealer

O = Oral History

T = Edmonton Telephone Directory

H = Henderson's Business Directory

NOTES:

1. The date in brackets represents the date a new address was given for an individual or business.
2. The name given for source 'T', the *Edmonton Telephone Directory* , is the name listed in the directory and not necessarily the name of the person advertising the sewing service.

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
ACTON, Bessie Hudson's Bay Co lives 259 Jasper Ave W								H																				
ACTON, Mary rooms 7 Chisholm Blk (10357 Jasper)								H																				
AIKEN, Annie 334 9520 118 Avenue												H																
ALEXANDER, Miss Mandie 10988 122 Street (Residence)													T															
ALFREDA, Mrs. #204, Balmoral Block																			J									
ALL SAINTS' HOME FOR GIRLS 235 7th Street (Office)												T																
ALLAN, D. S. 10352 92 Street & Government Avenue (Residence)													T															
ALLEN, Mrs. Ada 9878 Whyte Avenue															H													
ALLEN, Mrs. W. A. 324 Muttart Block, Namayo Avenue (1918) 12212 Jasper Avenue (1920)													T			JT												
																J		J										
ALLEY, Mrs. Frank M. McLean Block (Residence)								T																				
ALT, Madeline Chaurin, Alberta												J																

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
AMBROSE, Mr. H. W. 10624 Jasper Avenue, Balmoral Block R. Rutley & Co., 1916														J		H	H	H		H	T							
AMERICAN LADIES' TAILORS 427 Jasper Avenue West											JH																	
AMERICAN TAILORS 10363 97 Street																T												
ANDERSON, Florence 618 107 Street												H																
ANDERSON, Lulu M. 758 8 Street								H																				
ANDERSON, Mrs. Annie 10188 105 Street																				H								
ANDERSON, W. 10236 97 Street																	J											
ANSELL, Susie 757 3rd Street								H																				
ANSLEY, Ellen 562 95 Street												H																
ARBUCKLE, Miss Maggie McMullen Block, First Street						JH	H																					
ARID, Irene seamstress Thompson & Dynes lives 4, 11737 Jasper																											H	

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
ARMSTRONG, Elizabeth 10166 94A Street																					H							
ARMSTRONG, Martha 4, 10110 108 Street													H															
ASHCRAFT, J. H. 11228 100 Avenue (Residence)																					T							
ASTLEY, Mrs. 8 Street West, North of Jasper Avenue			JB																									
ATKINS, Miss A. E. Fifth Street West, South of Victoria Avenue		B																										
AXTELL, Albert 864 Otter Street (Residence)												T																
AYERS, Mrs. Merton seamstress TS Thompson lives 9549 103 Avenue																		H										
BARIES' PRIVATE NURSING HOME 10241 112 Street																				T								
BAHEC, Mrs. J. 10325 106 Street															H													
BAILEY, Mrs. Emma 10220 102 Avenue 220, 10127 104 Street														JHT	H													

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
BAILEY, W. J. 11227 92 Street (Residence)																			T									
BAKER, Mrs. H. 10892 87 St. & Namayo Ave.															JH	J												
BASTON, Mrs. Hilda 874 4th Street (1911) 11509 92 Street (1930)									J																		H	
BEAUDETTE, Mrs. Minnie 3 May										H																		
BEDFORD, Louise householder 553 8th St								H																				
BEDORD, May 553 8th Street									H																			
BELANGER, Lorenzo 447 Fraser Avenue												H																
BELANGER, Mrs. Melina 10415 Fraser Avenue													H															
BELANGER, Mrs. Mary G. 10153 106 Street																	H	H				H	H	H				
BELL, Mrs. Delva 10882 98 Street																				H								
BELL, Mrs. J. 10909 97 Street																				JH								
BENGTSON, Rozella lives 10505 126 Street																											H	
BENTZ, Ida 446 First Ave SE (Edm S)												H																

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
BERGEN, Anna seamstress Blovey-Henry Co householder 1, 10720 Jasper																		H										
BERNARD, Philip F. 10934 81 Avenue (Residence, 1920) 8636 108 St (Residence, 1923)																		T		T	T							
BERUBE, E. 630 7th Street (Residence)												T																
BETHUNE, Mrs. 10174 104 Street (Residence)													T															
BIRCH, Florence 10050 103 Street													H															
BIRD, Mrs. W. H.																							J					
BLEVINS, Miss E. 540 Carey St., Norwood												J																
BLOCK, Miss Mary 145 Athabasca Avenue								H																				
BLOOMFIELD, M. 10032 115 St (Residence)																				T								
BOHNA, Miss																								J				
BOLAND, Jane 10918 81 Avenue														H														

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
BOLAND, Olivia 10918 81 Avenue														H	H													
BON TON DRESSMAKING ROOMS 301 Fraser Avenue, corner of Clara Street									J	J																		
BOONE, Ray 215 Gibson Block												H																
BOOTHE, Mrs. L. A. 638 York										H										P								
BOWER, L. W. 10166 112 Street (Residence)																			T									
BOWMAN, Laura W. 9626 111 Avenue																										H		
BOWMAN, Winnifred 11934 90 Street																												H
BRADLEY, Miss Hudson's Bay, 3rd & Jasper										P																		
BRADSHAW, Mrs. H. West Railroad Street, Strathcona	J	J																										
BREHAUT, Eva E. 2-4, 410 Namayo Ave (1910) 10664 Namayo Ave (1915) 13, 10153 Jasper Ave (1919) 17, 10110 108 St (1922)						H		H	H	H	H	H	H				H			H		H				H	H	H

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
BREHAUT, Eva E. 10344 Jasper Ave (1928) 4, 8205 109 St (1929)																												
BREHAUT, Elizabeth P. 10664 Namayo Avenue								H					H															
BREHAUT, Mary lives 756 Namayo Avenue									H																			
BREHAUT, Miss P. 11414 96 Street (Residence)																			T	T								
BRIGGS, May de 10016 105 Avenue																				T								
BROCK, Minnie 8516 104 Street														H														
BRODIE, Mrs. B. 461 Clara Street											J																	
BROOKS, Alice 59, 10136 95 Street																					H							
BROOKS, Mrs. O. A. 10880 98 Street																							H					
BROWN, Alice 10644 93 Street															H													
BROWN, Miss Elizabeth B. 279 1st Ave, Plaindealer Block, Edm S (1910) 275 2nd Ave NW, Edm S (1912)							P	PH			H	H																

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
BROWN, Mme. A. D. 93, 10644 1112 Ottawa Avenue									J	J		H																
BROWN, Mrs. 2 St. East Kinistino Ave. (1905) 1231 Kinistino Ave. (1912)			J							J				J														
BRUCE, Miss Johnstone Walker Company										B																		
BRUNELLE, M. M. 38 Boyle Street (Residence)												T																
BRUNNO, Mrs. Teresa 9769 Clover Bar Road														H														
BRUSHETT, Ida R. E. 10624 84 Avenue														H														
BUCHANAN, Sam J. 10215 115 Street (Residence)																		T										
BULL, Mrs. Matilda tailoress with Royal Cleaning & Dye lives 204, 9660 103A Ave																		H										
BURGAR, Hugh 11711 80 Street (Residence)													T															
BURGESS, J. A. 10622 97 Avenue (Residence)																			T									

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
BURNS, W. J. 11133 Albert Road (Residence)																			T									
BURRESON, Mrs. L. 302, 10346 97 Street																					H							
BYRNE, Miss Suite 107 Pantages Bldg.																			J									
CAIRNS, J. W. A. 741 Ottawa Avenue (Residence)												T																
CALDER, Cecil (Miss)																				0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
CAMERON, Mrs. E. 70 Shand Ave Jasper E												J																
CAMMERER, Mrs. 875 Fraser Avenue									J																			
CAMPBELL, Alex. 758 16 Street (Residence)												T																
CAMPBELL, P. R. 10364 93 Street (Residence)																T												
CAMPBELL, S. P. 9311 103A Avenue (Residence)																			T									
CARRASSE, Mme. Room 25, Empress Rooms											J	J																
CARFY, Mrs. 432 8th Avenue											J	J	J															

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
CARLETON, Della dressmaker Johnstone Walker Company lives 11250 91 Street																												H
CARMICHAEL, Pearl dressmaker Johnstone Walker Company lives 10140 106 Street																												H
CARRIERE, M. 10013 106 Avenue (1920) 9527 102A Avenue (Residence, 1921)																		T										
CARROLL, W. J. 12234 93 St (Residence)																					T							
CARSON, Annie Boulevard Norwood							H																					
CARSON, Betty tailoress with HW Ambrose lives 116, 10526 Jasper																		H										
CARSON, Edith lives 2335 1st Street								H		H																		
CARTER, Mrs. 1054 2nd Street											J																	
CARTWRIGHT, Mrs. J. B. 10508 93 Street																			J									
CASSIE, Miss H. S. seamstress Royal Alexander Hospital lives same																												H

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
CHAMBE, Julien 10018 Macdonald Drive																		H										
CHANDLER, R. G. 9933 105 Street (Residence)																				T								
CHAPLIN, R. G. 14 Bancroft Apts. (Residence)																			T									
CHICAGO DRESSMAKERS 445 Namayo Avenue													H															
CHRISTIANSON, Mrs. 419 Sutherland Street														J														
CHRISTMAN, Gertrude E. 453 Armstrong Block														H														
CLARK, Miss Alvira 12224 Jasper Avenue																								JBH				
COLVILLE, Mrs. 11127 89 Avenue Garneau														J														
CONNELLY, Miss boards Commercial Hotel								H																				
CONNELLY, Nellie 3-4 Douglas Blk, Strathcona							H		H	H	H	H																
CONROY, Miss Laura 546 3rd Street								JBH																				

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
COOK, Mrs. Claire M. 3 Scona Apts., South Edmonton (1914) 12 Zella Apts. (1915)												JH	H															
COOKE, Miss 24 Douglas Block, Whyte Avenue											J	J																
CORBETT, Christina 10979 1545 126 Street												H																
CORBITT, D. C. 1138 6th Street (Residence)									H																			
CRAMER, Mrs. A. Ravenswood Tent 7					J																							
CREAMER, Chris 467 2nd St (Residence, 1911) 9927 102 St (Residence, 1916)									H					T		T												
CRICHLEY, Mrs. 9349 107A Avenue																										J		
CROUSE, Mrs. Josephine 556 McKay Avenue 38 Boyle Street												J																
CROWE, Francis J. 10704 124 Street																							H					
CROWN TAILORING Graydon's old stand next to the Post Office		JB																										

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
CROWTHERS, May 275 2nd Ave NW, Edm S											H																	
CRUMB, A. Eugene 10526 80 Avenue														H	H													
CULLUM, Mary 9724 78 Avenue														H														
CUMMING, A. 11625 94 Street (Residence)																			T									
CUNNINGHAM, R. 10004 88 Avenue (Residence)																			T									
CUNNINGTON, Mrs. Wm. 7829 105 Street														H														
CUPPLES, Mrs. Grace t. 10747 97 Street																					H		H	H				
DALEY, Mrs. Edith 9519 103A Avenue (Residence)																		T										
DAVID, Victoria Rooms 549 7th							H																					
DAWS, Ellen 9002 89 St., South Edmonton (1914) T. 8205 109 St. (1917)												H			H													
DAWSON, Jno. 9918 104 Street (Residence)																T												
DE SILVA, Helen 412A Empire Block																					T							

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
DEACON, F. W. 11235 95A St (Residence)																		T										
DEARDRUFF, Mrs. Harry 9903 85 Avenue														H														
DEARY, Harriett 8336 73 Avenue														H														
DECHENE, Mrs. J. E. 20 Hecla Block (Residence)																T												
DERBY, J. W. 9937 84 Avenue (Residence)																				T								
DICKSON, L. 264 Namayo Avenue								B																				
DOHERTY, Elizabeth lives 869 4th St								H																				
DONALD, Miss Mary lives 456 Clara St (1910) 11942 62 Ave (1912)								H				B		H														
DONALDSON, Mrs. Eva M. 10153 104 St. (1920-21) 2, 10538 Jasper Ave. (1920) 211 Chisholm Blk. (1921-22) 1, 10233 Jasper Ave. (1927)																		JH	JHT	JHT	H							
DONLEY, Mrs. M. see DONNELLY																												

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
DONNELLY, Mrs. Minnie dressmaker with Johnstone Walker Company lives 206 Balmoral Blk																		H										
DOUGLAS, Jenny 323 Picard										H																		
DREGER, Amelia dressmaker with Mary Mosey lives 9644 103A AVE																		H										
DRISCOLL, Miss Julia A. 13 Alberta Block (1913) 109 Alberta Block (1914) 5, 10516 Jasper Ave. (1915) 8, 10357 Jasper Ave. (1928)												J	T	H	JH										H			
DRISCOLL, Mrs. 109 Alberta Block (1914) 5 Alberta Block (1916)													J	J	J													
DUFFY, J. C. 9809 84 Avenue (Residence)																		T										
DUKE, R. F. 9925 105 Street (Residence)														T														
DUMAS, J. B. 11507 95 A St (Residence)																	T											
DUNCAN'S LADYWEAR																							J	J				
DUNN, Edith lives 743 Ottawa Ave (1910) 10727 1243 93 St (1912)								H				H																
FADIF, A. G. 9852 88 Avenue (Residence)																			T									

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
EAKIN, Lily tailoress with HW Ambrose lives 11939 101 Street																		H										
EARWALKER, Mrs. Jessie 563 Rice Street (1910) 17-18 Schattner Blk, 10407 Namayo Ave (1913)								H			H			H	H													
EAST, Mrs. 852 4th Street							J																					
EAST, Mrs. George Nelson Avenue Southeast corner of 5th Street								H	H																			
EASTMAN, Miss A. 10967 129 Street																												
EATON, Misses										JT																		
EATON, Mrs. J. D. 1146 Jasper Ave (Residence)												T																
EDGAR, J. S. 8113 112 Avenue (Residence)																		T										
EDMONTON DRESSMAKING STUDIO (Mrs. Elverud) 211 Kitchen Block																											H	
EDMONTON SCHOOL OF DOMESTIC SCIFNCE 632 1st Street									J																			
EDMONDS, Miss Y.W.C.A., Boyle Street													J															
EDWARDS, Amelia J. 300, 10175 100A St (1917) 513, 10175 100A St. (1917)															H	H	H											

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
EDWARDS, Euretta householder 513, 10175 100A St																												H
EDWARDS, Isabella tailoress with Helman & Sapera lives 11921 77 Street																		H										
EDWARDS, Miss 300 141 Howard															H													
EDWARDS, Mrs. Ernest Brown Blk, Jasper Ave																	J											
EDWARDS, Mrs. D. A. (Victoria) 8 9927 Jasper Ave. (Sandison Block)																		H	J									
ELLIOTT, Mamie dressmaker with Miss Brehaut lives 438 Fraser								H																				
ELTRICH, Mrs. J. M. 835 Namayo Avenue									J																			
ELVERUD, Mrs. 211, 10164A 101 St. (Kitchen Block)																								H	JH	JH	H	H
EMBURY, L. 10026 112 Street (Residence)																			T									

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
EMPEY, Sarah 10455 Jasper Avenue (Miss Strem's, 1921) Mme. Zara Silvester's (1922)																			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ENGLISH, Mrs. Lydia 4 Hanna Blk. (1911) 524 110 Street (1912) 557 9th St. (1912-13) 10057 109 St. (1914) 10024 110 St. (1915-16) 11723 Jasper Ave. (1918)									J	J	J	J	JH			J												
ERLAN, Ruth 96510 Jasper Avenue													H															
EVANS, Bessie B. 9639 108 Ave (Residence)																	T											
EVANS, W. Morgan 9560 102A Ave (Residence)																	T											
FAIRHEAD, Grace 10042 109 Street																		H										
FALKENBURG, Martha Hudson's Bay Co Ilyes 415 Kennedy St								H																				
FALLON, F. J. 837 4th Street (Residence)												T																
FAULKNER, Mrs. S. F. San Bene Lodge 107 Street																		J										

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
FAWCETT, H. 9023 106 Street																		T										
FENTON, Miss C. E. 639 6th Street West Fraser Avenue			H	JH	J																							
FERGUSON, Mrs.																								J				
FIDLER, A. 11322 79 Avenue (Residence)																				T								
FIDLER, Mrs. Helen 11526 95A Street																							H	H				
FILES, Mrs. V. C. 646 5th Street (Residence)									T																			
FITZGERALD, E. 11268 95 Street (Residence)																T												
FLEMING, D. G. 10344 83 St. (Residence)																T												
FLETCHER, H. 396 Fraser Avenue								J																				
FLOQUET, Mme. Clarence 54, 10525 Alberta Block, Jasper Avenue (1913) 755 Athabasca Ave. (Residence, 1914) 9635 First Street (1916)											J	J		H														
FLOWERS, Harry A. Ladies' Tailor 9927 Jasper Ave. E. (1917)																J	JH	JH	J					JH			J	H

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
FLOWERS, Harry A. Ladies' Tailor 10545 Namayo Avenue (1918) 10030 Jasper Avenue, Quebec Bank Bldg. (1926) 9521 107 Avenue (1929)																						J						
FORBES-TAYLOR COMPANY COSTUMIERS 231-233 Jasper Ave. W. (1909) 415 Jasper Avenue (1915) 10514 Jasper Ave. (1916)							H	H	J	J	JB	J	JB	JH	JB			J	T	T	JT							
FORDER, E. J. 9542 102 Avenue (Residence)																				T								
FOSTER, John W. 9971A Jasper Avenue																										T		
FOSTER, Mrs. 31 Boyle Street											J																	
FOUNTAIN, J. G. 10638 97 Street (Residence)													T															
FOUNTAIN, Mrs. 726 Namayo Avenue 128 Namayo Avenue										H			J															
FOURNIER, Mme. G. 2, 10358 Jasper Avenue West														BH														
FOX, Lillian dressmaker with Jean Gemmell lives 10710 107 Street																		H										
FOX, Miss Mary 10 107 Street																H	H	H										

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
FOX, Mrs. Jessie 225 Alberta Block												B			H													
FOX, Mrs. Mary 10531 97 Street																	H											
FOX'S SILKS AND DRESS GOODS 10115 102 Street																			B	H								
FRANCEN, Ida seamstress Northwestern Linen Supply lives 31 Tremont Block																		H										
FRANCEN, Thelma seamstress Northwestern Linen Supply lives 31 Tremont Block																		H										
FRANCIS, Miss Nellie 650 2nd Street (1908) 807 1st Street, opposite Peace Avenue (1910)							J		J																			
FRANCK, M. E. 10350 95 Street (Residence)																		T										
FRANKS, Mrs. 175 Alfred Street, Nottingham, England													J															
FRASER, Emma Seamstress Royal Alexander Hospital lives 9710 95 Street																											H	
FRASER, J. F. 11503 97 Street (Residence)																					T							

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
FRASER, Jean lives 456 Clara Street								H																				
FRASER, Miss C. 419 Sutherland					H																							
FRENCH DRY CLEANERS 10666 97 Street																			J					J				
FRICKER, Mabel lives 10653 91 Avenue																												H
FROMENT, Mrs. H. 461 Whyte Avenue East										J	H																	
FULLER, Wm. M. 11422 94 Street (Residence)																					T							
FUNNELL, Mrs. Lillian lives 211, 10164A 101 St																												H
FURMEDGE, Misses Elsie & ? 11723 Jasper Avenue (1915) 9933 108 Street (1916)													H	H	H	H												
GAGNE, Beatrice tailoress with JL Tipp & Co																			H									
GALLAGHER, Mrs. 110 Goodridge Block													J	J														
GANDER, Clare 38 Connors Road																										H		

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
GANDER, Nellie 38 Connors Road																										H		
GANEFF, Mrs. 11708 92 Street															J													
GARDNER, Lily lives 11536 95 Street																											H	
GARDNER, Nellie 524 Fraser Avenue								H																				
GARDNER, Rose lives 11536 95 Street																											H	
GARNER, N. 9927 Whyte Avenue (Residence)																			T									
GARVEY, Mrs. Ethel M. dressmaker Worthmore Ltd. lives 10230 107 Street																											H	
GATTENMEYER L. 9573 109A Avenue																					T							
GAUGHN, Mrs. E. seamstress MacDonald Hotel lives same																			H									
GAVIN, Wm. 9915 113 Street (Residence)													T															
GAYMAN, Elizabeth 11815 78 Street															J													

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
GEARY, May 1 Kirkpatrick Block												H																
GEMMELL, Jean S. (Miss) / lives 11211 126 St (1919) Alberta College, 1st St (1912) 7, 10338 Jasper Ave. (1916) 10357 Jasper Ave. (1919) 10123 102 Street (1921) 10012 102 Street (1925)										J	J			H	J.	T	JHT	H	JHT	HT	HT	H	HT	H	HT	HT	HT	HT
GEMMELL, Margaret lives 11211 126 Street																		H										
GIBBONS, Jas. 10534 125 St (Residence)																				T								
GIBSON, Edith (Mrs. W. H.) 728 Namayo Avenue						H					H																	
GILES, Mabel 55 Clara Street								H																				
GILLANDERS, Miss Catherine 20, 447 114 Avenue												JBH																
GILLIS, W. A. 268 Jasper East (1913) 9927 Jasper Ave Morris Blk (1916)											J			H														
GIMBLETT, Miss 258 Namayo Avenue								B																				
GIRARD, Noella seamstress Thompson & Dynes householder 123, 10526 Jasper																											H	

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
GLASPIE, Mrs. Emmeline M. 343 Fraser Avenue (1914) 11642 95 Street (1916) 10748 92 Street (1919)												H		H			J	J		J								
GLIENER, Mrs. M. 11803 102 Avenue																											H	
GOLDEN, Mrs. Isabella 10577 97 Street																									H			
GOLDMAN, Mrs. Rebecca 10149 115 Street													H															
GORDON, Elizabeth seamstress Royal Alenander Hospital lives same																											H	
GORMAN, Amelia 1064 Fraser Avenue								H																				
GORMAN, J. O. 444 Clara St. (Residence, 1914) 9630 103 Ave. (Residence, 1920)												H						H										
GORSLINE, O. 12927 Fort Road																T												
GOYETTE, Lena 1210 Kinistino Avenue						H																						
GRATT, Mrs.												J																
GRAY, Rose N. lives 9753 93 Avenue																											H	

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
GREEN, Mrs. Demereiss lives 10544 104 Street																		H			H							
GREEN, Mrs. W. D. C. 255 Jasper Avenue East					H																							
GREENWOOD, Miss 517 108 Street											J	J																
GREGORY, Mrs. 691 Namayo Avenue					B																							
GRICE, Lily (GRISE) Hudson's Bay Co lives 707 15 St								H																				
GRIEVE, Miss M. A. 9336 Rowland Road (Residence)													T															
GRIFFIN, J. 11005 130 St (Residence)																		T										
GRIFFITH, Laura lives 10218 108 Street																		H										
GRIFFITH, Mrs. Helen 11312 63 Street (Residence)																		T										
GRIFFITH, Ruth lives 2, 10338 Jasper Ave																	H	H										
GROUND, J. 10511 95 Street (Residence)																		T										

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
GROVER, Mrs. E. 10805 125 St (Residence)																			T									
HACKETT, J. G. 10931 84 Street (Residence)													T															
HAGGERTY, J. W. 9818 105 Street (Residence)													T															
HALEY, R. L. 10503 92 Street (Residence)																				T								
HALL, Agnes 9551 109 Avenue																				H								
HALL, Florence employee Emily Thomas 23-24 Jasper Ave lives 11320 103 Avenue																				O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	HO
HALL, Thomas P. 10034 83 Avenue (Residence)																					T							
HAMILTON, Hazel 10161 113 Street																					H					H		
HAMILTON, John 11448 96 Street (Residence)																					T							
HANSEN, Mrs. 10017 87 Street																						J	J		J		JB	
HARFORD, Miss M.		H																										
HARKNESS, Mrs. Charles 9914 105 Street																				T								

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
HARRISON, Alice tailoress with H. Flowers lives 9377 99 Street																		H										
HARRISON, Mrs. J. A. 10227 102 Avenue (Residence)																T												
HARSTON, Alice 10353 95 Street																					H							
HARVEY-FOSTER 35 Boyle Street											J																	
HAYDEN, Miss 725 Government Avenue										J																		
HAYES, Wm. E. 9809 109 Street (Residence)																		T										
HAYS, Mrs. G. D. 238 Queens Avenue									J																			
HAYWOOD, Beatrice L. Forbes-Taylor Co lives 17 Boyle Street								H																				
HEATHCOTE, Miss Dora 3rd Street			H	H																								
HELDINS DRESSMAKER 1215 Peace Avenue											J																	
HELLER, Vera lives 9727 95 Street																											H	

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
HELMAN AND SAPERA Turner Bldg., 10316 Jasper Avenue																H	JBH	JH										
HENDERSON, Miss E. M. 210 Armstrong Block, 4th Street (1913) 220, 10521 Jasper Avenue (Cattistock Block) (1915)											H		J															
HENDERSON, Mrs. 10847 94 Street																											J	
HENDERSON, Mrs. C. 10752 85 Street																					H							
HENDERSON, Mrs. F. M. seamstress Herman's lives 11226 97 Street																												H
HENNING, Mrs. Sophie 817 Fraser Avenue									H																			
HERON, J. W. 11945 105 St (Residence)																				T								
HERRICK, Daisy seamstress Ramsey's householder 222, 10526 Jasper																		H										
HEWITT, Annie fitter Johnstone Walker Company householder 325, 10526 Jasper																		H										
HEWKO, Josephine 11306 87 Street																					H							

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
HIGGINSON, R. 11340 95 Street (Residence)																			T	T								
HILL, Miss Annie First house east of the Greek Church, Jasper Avenue		J																										
HILL, Mrs. Eleanor J. 32 Clark										H																		
HILL, Mrs. G. T. (Carrie) lives 833 12 Street (1910) 11248 93 Street (1916) 9205 112 Avenue (1918) 9434 111 Avenue (1919) 10805 100 Avenue (1923)								H						J		JH	J	JH	JH	JHT			J					
HINDLE, Thomas 10233 Jasper Avenue Opposite the Hudson's Bay Store.										B		B	B				B	B	JB									
HOATSON, Mrs. 126 May Street														J														
HOBDAY, Mrs. Rose 641 4th Street (1912) Reed & Robinson Block, Jasper Avenue (1913)										JH	J																	
HOBSON, Winnie dressmaker with Jean Gemmell lives 13030 65 Street																		H										
HODGSON, Mrs. 10018 102 Ave (Residence)																			T									

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
HODSON, Miss L. 273 7th Street											J																	
HOHN, Emily 10138 Whyte Avenue																						H			H	H		H
HOLLAND, Miss S. M. seamstress Strathcona Hospital lives 10716 80 Avenue																		H										
HOLLIER, Mrs. W. M. 10218 115 St (Residence)																				T								
HORNBY, Miss M. P. O. Box 1462											J																	
HORNE, Mrs. A. F. 552 1st Avenue SE, Edmonton South												J																
HORTON, William 9346 100A Avenue																				T								
HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY											J			J	J			J										
HUMPHREY, Miss Y W C.A., Edmonton										J																		
HUNT, Mrs. 9844 69 Avenue, corner of 5th Street East													J															
HUNTER, Ethel F. 7106 106 Street															H													

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
HUTTON, Edith lives 45 Morris Street dressmaker with Mrs. Gibson								H																				
HUTTON, Mrs. Room 39 Jackson Block																				J								
IDEAL MILLINERY PARLORS 10028 Rice Street (1915) 2 St Kinistino Ave E(1921)													J															
INNES, Mary tailoress with H. Flowers lives 10015 106 Street																		H										
INNES, Miss B. McDougal & Secord			H																									
JACKSON, Blanche dressmaker with Jean Gemmell lives 11206 102 Ave																		H										
JACKSON, Mrs. Frank Jasper Avenue West			H																									
JARVIS, Miss A. E. 10230 107 St (Residence)														T														
JARVIS, Miss M. 641 Ninth Street										H	H																	
JEANDRON, Wm. 9654 118 Avenue (Residence)																				T								
JEANES, John 9327 81 Avenue (Residence)																					T							

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
JEFFERSON, Bess 10204 122 Street (1922) 10123 124 Street (1923)																				HT	HT							
JOHNSON, Gertrude 58 Kitto Avenue (1913) 3 Tremont Block											H	H																
JOHNSON, Mrs. E. H. 2 St East, Kinistino Ave			J									J																
JOHNSTONE, L. M. 11328 83 Street																				T								
JOHNSTONE WALKER COMPANY									B															J				
JUNCK, Stephen 543 Fraser Ave (Residence)												T																
KANTOR, Mme. Alberta lives 10615 95 Street																	B	H										
KASTING, P. R. 9511 100 St (Residence)																					T							
KATZ THE TAILOR 287 Jasper Avenue East											J																	
KAY, Miss 10007 109 Street																								J				
KAY'S 10027 Jasper Avenue																		J	JB	JB	B							
KEATING, Miss 8th Street			H	H																								

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
KEELER, W. W. 9530 106 Avenue (Residence)																	T											
KEIR, Mrs.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
KENNEDY, Miss (Kathleen) 2029 89 Street (1914) 318 Fairbairn Block (1915)												H	J															
KENNEDY, Mrs. M. 55 First Avenue. South corner of Main. Strathcona								H																				
KENNEY, Miss 507 Kirkness									J																			
KERN, Kenneth 14503 102 Ave (Residence)																			T									
KERR, Lettie lives 627 6th Street								H																				
KEYES, Louise 35, 10521 Jasper Avenue.																									H			
KIMBALL, Marion V. 46 Alberta Blk 304 Alberta Blk (1914) 312, 10526 Jasper Ave (1916) 309, 10526 Jasper Aye (1919) 311, 10526 Jasper Ave (1920)											H	H					JH	H		H	H	H	H					
KIMBALL, Mary 643 First Street 7 Elizabeth (1908) 647A First, McMullen Block (1909)						H	H	H		H																		

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
KINSELLA, Anna lives 721 Ottawa Ave								H																				
KIRKHAM, Mrs. Pearl 738 6th St (1915) tailoress with HW Ambrose (1919) lives 10224 106 St (1919) 10024 Jasper Ave (1921) 2. 10358 Jasper Ave (1922) 3. 10160 101 St (1929)													J	J				H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H	H
KNIGHT, Evelyn dressmaker with Jean Gemmell lives 11041 97 St																		H										
KONWINSKY, Mary L. Forbes-Taylor Co lives 153 Bellamy								H																				
KRACH, Annie lives 12153 54 Street																												H
KREAMER, Miss 654 Jasper West, 8th Street					J																							
LA CHIC DRESSMAKING PARLORS 774 Rice Street									H																			
LA PORTE, Mildred householder 214, 9717 Jasper																		H										
LA VOIE 101h Street			H	H																								
LACOURSE, Mrs. 785 5th Street													J															

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
LAIRD, S. W. 507 Clara St (Residence)												T																
LAMBERT, Mrs. Hortense 875 Fifth Street										H																		
LAMBERTSON, Roy L. 12116 96 St (Residence)																T												
LAMOT, Mrs. Sarah E. 9620 80 Avenue																											H	
LANCEY, C. H. 12052 93 Street (Residence)																		T										
LANE, Miss Louise J. 6 Zella Apts. (1914) 1 Strathcona Block (1915) 10444 Whyte Ave., Balaam Block 5, 8205 109 Street (1916) 10, 10110 107 Street (1917)												H	H	BH	H													
LARCOTTE, Mme. 738 6th Street											J																	
LATIMER, Archie 11228 88 Street (Residence)																T												
LAUN, Laura J. lives 9545 102 Ave																		H										
LAVN, Laura 544 Rice Street								H																				
LAWTON, Mrs. P. 454 1st Avenue NW, Edm S										H																		
LEADBEATER, Daisy lives 12122 106 Avenue																		H										

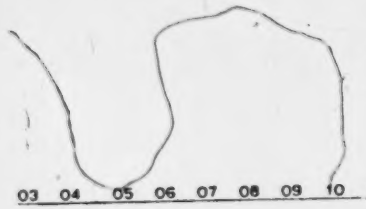
NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
LE CAMUS, Mrs. 255 Jasper Avenue East							J																					
LEDUC, Mrs. J. 1R, 10144 101 Street																										H		
LENNOX, Mr. Peter 5, 10538 Jasper Ave (1919) Johnstone Walker's (1927)																	H	H		T					J			
LENTZ, Augusta 18 Wilson										H																		
LES PARISIAN MILLINERY & LADIES' TAILORING 9814 Jasper Avenue													J															
LESSARD, Mrs. J. 3rd Street north of Richelieu Livery			J																									
LIBERTY SECOND HAND STORE 9803 Jasper Avenue																			J									
LIETZ, Martha 1245 Syndicate Avenue								H																				
LIMBERT, Miss G. B. Clark Street, Post Office Box 605			H	H																								
LINK, Gertrude lives 9444 100A Street																										H		
LIPCOMB, Millie lives 10552 98 Street																		H										

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
LISTER, M. H. 11032 89 Avenue (Residence)																					T							
LLOYD, Ada lives 4th Ave & 6th St E								H																				
LOBB, Helen I. 8615 104 Street (1916) 8205 109 Street (1917) 65, 8210 107 Street (1919)														H	H		H	H										
LOCK, Mrs. First house east of Robertson's Hall			J																									
LONG, Mme. 326 Boulevard East										J																		
LONGHURST, Edna M. talloress with Helman & Sapera lives 10650 97 St																		H										
LORRAINE, Mme. 550 3rd Street										J	JH																	
LOUVRE MILLINERY STORE Three doors East of the Hudson's Bay Store			J																									
LOWDEN, T. A. 202 Lockerbie Blk (Residence)																T												
LUCKETT, W. 14534 102 Avenue (Residence)																				T								

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
LUDAN, Mrs. Cora tailoress with Royal Cleaning & Dye Works lives 7, 10018 112 St																		H										
MacKINNON, Elizabeth 1, 647A First Street643 First Street 3, 645 First Street								H	H	H	H	H																
MacLENNAN, Isabel 5, 10358 Jasper Ave (1925) 2, 10233 Jasper Ave (1929)																							H	H	H	H	H	
MacLENNAN, Marg 11340 94 Street																											H	H
MacLENNAN, Miss B. 5, 10358 Jasper Avenue, Upstairs																							T		T	T	T	T
McAFEE, Jeannie Forbes-Taylor Co lvs 1236 7th Street								H																				
McAFEE, Mrs. Harry 8113 112 Avenue																		J										
McALISTER, D. A. 11420 95 Street (Residence)																		T										
McALLISTER, Margaret 9141 78 Avenue														H														
McARTHUR, Mrs. C. W. 11526 95A Street																						J						
McATEE, Miss Florence 108 Ottawa Avenue (1907) 318 Fraser Avenue (1909)					B	J	H	J																				

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
McAUSLAND, Miss A. 9826 91 Avenue (Residence)													T															
McCALLUM, W. 1158 5th Street (Residence)									T																			
McCLURE, Mrs. Isaac 12227 95 Street (Residence)																		T										
McCONNELL, Miss Jean 10230 107 Street														JRH	JH													
McCONNELL, Jennie 10230 107 Street																												
McCONNELL,Miss																J												
McCONNELL, Miss J. B. 9735 93 Street																						H						
McCREARY, Sarah M. 9514 100A Street														H				H										
McDERMID, J. D. 1285 5th Street												T																
McDONALD, Marg dressmaker with R. Buckle rooms 456 Clara Street								H																				
McDOUGALL, Belle Hudson's Bay Co 344 Kinistino								H																				

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
McDOUGALL, Pearl Forbes-Taylor Co lvs 757 Fraser Ave								H																				
McEACHERN, Christina Hudson's Bay Co rooms Morris Block								H																				
McEACHERN, Effie rooms 10 Chisholm Blk (1910) 5 Buena Vista Apts (1914) 203, 10727 104 St (1923) 14 10357 Jasper Ave (1929)								H				H									H	H					H	
McEACHERN, Janet 1 Condell Block (1915) 24, 10510 Jasper Ave (1917)														H	H								H	H	H	H		H
McEACHERN, Jennie 453, 10127 104 Street																		H										
McEACHERN, Jessie 453, 10127 104 Street																				H								
McEACHERN, Misses 1, 10110 108 Street																H												
McEACHERN, Tena Hudson's Bay Co lives 219 Morris St								H																				
McEVOY, M. Namayo Ave North					J																							
McGEE, Jennie lives 6422 106 Street																			H									



NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
McGUIRE, Miss 536 13 Street								J																				
McINNES, M. 10613 99 Avenue (Residence)																		T										
McINTYRE, Jean dressmaker with Mary V. Kimball lives 456 Clara St (1910) dressmaker with Jean Gemmell lives 10304 97 Ave (1930)								H																			H	
McINTYRE, Minnie rooms 456 Clara Street																												
McKAY, Christina 1097 Carey																		H										
McKAY, Mrs. Louvre Millinery, Jasper Avenue								H	H																			
McKEE, Wayfe lives 11732 87 Street																		H										
McKINLEY, Mrs. W. H. 10027 104 Street (Residence)																						T						
McLACHLAN, J. C. 9653 84 Avenue (Residence)																			T									
McLEAN, Miss Dressmaking Department, Hudson's Bay Store								J																				

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
McLENNAN, Mrs. 3 Glencoe Lodge, 987 107 Avenue																		J										
McLEOD, Duncan 10541 81 Avenue (Residence)															T													
McLEOD, Miss Elta lives 26 Jasper Blk								H																				
McLEOD, Mrs. Mary 440 Sutherland Street								H																				
McLEOD, Mrs. Victoria lives 35, 10521 Jasper Ave																											H	
McMAHON, Doris 10003 83 Avenue																		O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
McMASTER, Miss 654 Jasper Ave W 8 St								J																				
McMULLENS, Addie 22 Whyte Avenue										H																		
McRAE, A. 10608 80 Avenue (Residence)															T													
McROBERTS, Miss P. O. Box 42, 4th Avenue								P																				
MAGEE, Janet 6422 106 Street																												
MAGEE, Jennie 6422 106 Street																H	H											

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
MAGUIRE, Agnes 536 13 (1908) lives 540 13 St (1910) 814 23 St (Residence 1914) 10204 107 St (Residence 1915)						H						T	T															
MAINE, Mrs. 10746 105 Street														J														
MAKE-YOUR-OWN-CLOTHES 1146 Jasper Ave East											J																	
MALLET, C. 1545 26 Street (Residence)												T																
MALLICK, J. H. 10021 114 St (Residence)																				T								
MALLORY, Milo 11854 95A St (Residence)																	T											
MANN, Mr. E. F. 101-102 Rudyk Block (1913) 5, 10084 Jasper Ave (1916) 10316 Jasper Ave (1923)											B	B			B	B		H	H		B	JBT		T		B	T	T	T
MANSON, Ethel talloress with Helman & Sapera lives 12038 91 Street																			H									
MARSDEN, Annie 11521 1739 Namayo Ave										H		H																
MARSHFIELD, Beatrice 17 Fraser Avenue										H																		

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
MASON, Jennie 544 Clara Street								H																				
MARTIN, Mr. G. W. South of Hudson's Bay Store		JB		B																								
MATHESON, John 11346 67 St, Wadleigh (Residence)													T															
MATHEWS, Mrs. L. B. Boyle Street at Fifth Ave, opposite the hospital				B	B																							
MAYS, Mrs. Robert 882 6th Street							J																					
METZ, Mrs. A. F. dressmaker Walk-Rite Style Shoppe lives 11121 130 Street																												H
MEYER, Mme. 24 Morris Blk, 268 Jasper Ave											J																	
MICKLEBERRY, Mrs. 940 Kinistino Ave 803 Fraser Ave (1912) Chicago Millinery 445 Namayo Ave. (1914) 250 Coote Ave (1916) 10868 93 St (1917)							B			J	J	JB	J		J			T			T			J				
MILLAR, Mrs.													J															

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
MILLER, Annie dressmaker with Jean Gemmell lives 11206 102 Ave																		H										
MILLER, Jones 10638 102 St (Residence)																		T										
MILLER, Mary dresmaker with Johnstone Walker Company lives 8322 90 Street																		H										
MILLER, Miss Dora 308 Jasper Ave W 9537 Jasper Ave (1914)			H	H		H	H		RH		H	H	H	H														
MILLIGAN, Mrs. Georgina 328 Kennedy										H																		
MILNER, Annie lives 9638 195A Avenue																												H
MISHLER & HEAZLETT 237 Gallagher Street										J																		
MISHLER, Mrs. Gallagher Street										J	J																	
MODEL CLEANERS & TAILORS 10244 101 Street																				B								
MOESSNER, Mrs. Carl 1, 9642 Jasper Ave																											B	
MOORE, E. J. 11318 127 Street																		T										
MOORE, W. E. 10148 107 St (Residence)														T		J				T	T							

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
MOREAU, Mary 8524 103 Street														H														
MORGAN, Miss E. Jasper Avenue		J																										
MORGAN, Miss K. Jasper Avenue		J																										
MORRIS, W. J. 9211 103A Ave (Residence)																			T									
MORRITT, Mrs. 10757 Jasper Avenue																										T	T	T
MORRITT, W. M. 10757 Jasper Avenue																										T	T	T
MOSEY, M. E. 12, 10062 100 St (1920) 300, 10175 100A St (1924) 313, 10175 100A St (1926) 307, 10526 Jasper Ave (1927)																		H					H		H	H		
MOUNTAIN, Mrs. G. 10123 104 Street													J		H													
MURCHIE, A. P. 54 McLean Block (Residence)														T														
MURPHY AND BRYNE 107 Pantages Bldg																			HT	H	T							
MURPHY, Ida lives 10408 93 Street																		H										

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
MURPHY, Miss 107 Pantages Bldg 10062 102 Street	J																											
MURRAY, Annie 544 55 Street								H																				
MURRAY, Mrs. S. 9342 103A Ave (Residence)														T														
MURRAY, Thomas 10108 83 Ave (Residence)																			T									
MUSHER, Robert 11613 89 St (Residence)																	T											
MY VALET COMPANY 16718 Jasper Ave																				J								
NAGINGTON, Mrs. 11924 78 Street																											J	
NATIONAL MANUFACTURING COMPANY Montreal, Quebec					B	J	JB	JB	B	B		B	B	B			B	JB	JB	JB	JB	J	JB		B	JB		J	B
NAYSMITH, Mrs. 213 Goodridge Block										B																		
NEW YORK DRESSMAKERS 11562 95 Street																											J	J
NEWTON, Mrs. 24 Cattistock Block																										J		

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
NICHOL, Mr. R. M. 104-105 Purvis Blk (1920) 10053 103 St (1924)																			J	T		H						
NICHOLL, Minnie seamstress University Hospital lives 20. 10444 Whyte Ave																											H	
NICHOLSON, Mrs. 2068 Norton Street											J																	
NICHOLSON, Mrs. Christine 11562 95 Street																											H	
NICHOLSON, Sophia 553 Helminck										H																		
NORWOOD NEEDLE SHOP 11425 95 Street																						H						
O'BRIEN'S 10624 Jasper Avenue W													BH															
O'NEILL, Mrs. Lucile 450 Fraser Avenue										H																		
OLDRIDGE, Jane 9740 95 Street																							H					
OLDRIDGE, Janet 9740 95 Street																								H				
OLIVER, Beatricee seamstress Royal Alexander Hospital lives 10330 119 Avenue																											H	

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
OLIVER, Bessie 547 Sutherland Street lives 533 Rice St (1910)						R		H																				
OMSTERD, Mrs. Mabel 743 Jasper West											H																J	
ONTARIO NECKWEAR COMPANY 366 West Adelaide St. Toronto						H		H	H	H				H	H		H				H						
ORD, Mary A. 5 Douglas Blk, Edm S 9, 10162 Whyte Ave (1916)														H														
ORDZA, Nellie H. 7416 106 Street											B	B																
ORMAN, Joe White Block								H																				
ORTLEAB, Mrs. Tilly North side of 2nd Ave. Strathcona																	B	JBH	H									
PADEN, Mr. Geo. A. 10238 Jasper Ave																												
PAGE, Miss H. 11206 96 Street (Residence)							J		J																			
PAN-CO-VESTA COMPANY 752 1st Street																												

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
PARDEE, Mrs. Residence, Bank of Montreal Bldg								J														J						
PARISIAN DRESS MAKERS Jasper Avenue																	J											
PARISIAN DYE WORKS 102 Avenue																			J									
PARISIAN MILLINERY 10060 Jasper Avenue														J														
PARKINSON, Eva 10314 97 Street																				H								
PATE, Oscar 10258 92 Street (Residence)																		T										
PATTERSON, Miss C. 147 4th Avenue Southwest 10352 92 Street											J														J			
PAUL, Martha dressmaker with E. E. Brehaut lives 1051 Namayo Ave								H																				
PAULINE MILLINERY STORE Corner of 8th & Jasper Ave								J																				
PEARCE, H. S. 10710 107 St (Residence)																	T	T										

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
PEARSON, Elaine 169 2nd Ave SW, Edm S											H																	
PEDERSON, Mrs.												J																
PEERS, Miss 329 10th Street											J																	
PEKIN SHOPPE 10107 102 Street																											J	J
PELLE, Mrs.Mary seamstress General Hospital lives same																												H
PENFOLD, Mrs. Fannie 4, 10538 Jasper Ave (1914) lives 8724 84 Avenue												H						H										
PENMAN, Edith 23-24 Jasper Ave (Emily Thomas)																				O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
PENTLAND, J. H. 11134 83 Avenue																	T	T										
PENTLAND, Mrs. 11011 88 Street																			J	J								
PESHETTE, P. E. 10751 96 St (Residence)																		T										
PETERS, Mrs. 527 Clark Street, Upstairs						J																						
PETERSON, Helen 10611 85 Avenue														H														

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
PETERSON, Mrs.																											J	
PETERSON, Mrs. M. I. 11132 87 Avenue (Residence)																T												
PETTINGER, Miss lives 11618 82 St																	J	H										
PETTIS, Mrs. Maud lives 12606 68 Street																		H										
PHILLIP, Mrs. Henry 869 Fraser Avenue											J																	
PICKLES, Annie 9949 63 Avenue														H														
PINCKTON, Miss 654 Jasper West					J																							
PLUMA, S. 885 6th Street											J																	
POOLER, Mrs. W. seamstress Blowey-Henry Ltd. lives 10516 79 Avenue																											H	
PORRITT, Mrs. Caroline lives 12606 68 Street												H						H										
POST, Wilhelmina 1045 Namayo Ave						H																						
PRATT, Miss 11132 87 Ave (Residence)													H	H			T											

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
PRESCOTT, Mrs. Florence seamstress Blowey-Henry householder 26, 10133 99 St																												H
PRESTON, Miss 23 Rice Street								J																				
PRINGLE, Mrs. Susan 171 Norwood Blvd (1912) 1231 Kinistino Ave (1912) 446 Kirkness St (1913)										JH	J	JB																
PROCTOR, Mrs. 10909 97 Street																				J								
PRONIUK, Mrs. Helen 10552 96 Street																				H								
PURCHESTON, Alice 11 Street, P. O. Box 173			H	H																								
QUINLAN, Miss 110 Goodridge Block														H	H													
QUINN, Fred 3, 10233 Jasper Avenue																			H									
RAMSAY, Mrs. 4th St E Boundary Ave		B																										
RAMSEY, James First Street											J																	
RANDALL, Pauline 22 Roberts Block																											J	

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
REED McKINNON 132 Jasper Avenue											J																	
REED, Mrs. 620 19 Street										J																		
REEVES, Miss 1085 5th St Edm S											J																	
REID, C. A. 4, 10233 Jasper Avenue																			JH									
REID, E. Ogilvie 125 Fraser Avenue					J	J																						
REID, William 136 Elizabeth St (Residence)												T																
REINHART, A. E. 9647 106 Avenue (Residence)													T															
REKSTEN, Olaf 11223 95A Street																	T											
RENARD, Delma 222, 10526 Jasper Ave																				H								
RENARD, Rose D. 222, 10526 Jasper Ave																			H									
RENAUD, Delima 211, 10357 Jasper Avenue																						H	H					
RENAUD, Miss Del Suite 7 McLean Blk																					J H							

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
RENOUF, R. F. 2, 10210 101 Street																						H						
REYNOLDS, Misses 136 Jasper Avenue West												H	H														H	
RICHARD, Louisa seamstress General Hospital lives same										P																		
RICHARD BROS. STORE Whyte Avenue West																												
RICHIE, N. 617 Namayo						H																						
RICHMOND, Mrs. 763 5th Street					J																							
RIDDLE, Isa M. dressmaker with Mary V. Kimball lives 127 Athabasca Ave								H																				
RIDLEY, Mrs. M. V. Stettler, Alberta																	J											
RIGNEY, Mme. 101, 19767 95 St																				T								
RITCHIE, Nellie Rooms 229 9th						H																						
RITTER, Mrs. 9530 118 Avenue																				T								

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
ROBERTS, Miss Box 473 Journal																									J			
ROBERTS, Mrs. Mary 141 Short										H																		
ROBERTSHAW, Mrs. Jennie 1, 35 Howard Avenue (1914)												BH																
ROBERTSHAW, Mrs. W. tailoress with JL Tipp & Co lives 10124 104 Street																		H										
ROBINSON, Mrs. Ida L. 87, 10521 Jasper Ave (1918) 101, 10526 Jasper Ave (1919) 1, 10233 Jasper Ave (1920)																J	JBH		JH	H								
ROBINSON TAILORING COMPANY Empire Block																	J											
ROMER GOWNS 10243 Jasper Avenue																										J		
RONSON, Mary 7816 Jasper Avenue																					H							
ROOTES, J. I. 10030 108 St (Residence)																			T	T	T							
ROOTS, James 425 Ross Street									B																			
ROSEBUSH, Bessie 624 Kinistino						H																						

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
ROWE, Kate 255 Jasper Avenue East							H																					
ROYAL ALEXANDRA DRESSMAKING & MILLINERY 93487 104 Avenue													J															
ROYAL CLEANING WORKS 9839 Jasper Avenue													J					J										
RUNGAY, Mrs. Mary lives south side 1st Ave & 5th St								H																				
RUSSELL, Mrs. H. W. 9842 84 Avenue																							H					
RUTHERFORD, Mrs. Annie Whyte Avenue West							P																					
RUTHERFORD, Mrs. Kate Whyte Avenue West							P	P																				
RUTLEY, M. E. 10538 Jasper Ave W													J															
RUTLEY, Robert & Company 108 Rudyk Blk (1914) 10624 Jasper Ave W (1916)												H		JH	H	H	H											
SAMIS, Mrs. Earl 20, 12629 Stony Plain Road																								H				
SAN FRANCISCO LADIES' TAILORS 101 Empress Block											J																	

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
SANDISON, Amy 12205 Jasper Ave (Residence)																					T							
SANDLES 331 Fraser Avenue									J																			
SAVARD-FOISEY																						J						
SCHMITT, Miss 837 4th Street												J	J															
SCHMITT, Regina 9, 9533 Jasper Ave 204 Lockerbie Blk (Residence)													HT															
SCHOVELLER, Mary 9933 108 Street													H															
SCONA SCHOOL OF DRESSMAKING Corner of Whyte & 109 St												J		J														
SCOTT, Miss													JB	B														
SCRIVER, A. W. C. 9653 84 Ave (Residence)																				T								
SEDES, Miss 220 Empress Blk, Jasper Ave																				J								
SEMAN, Mrs.																						J						
SEUTTER, Miss L. 10862 Whyte Avenue																								H				
SHANTZ, Mrs. Marg 37, 9407 114 Ave																				H								

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
SHEILDS, Miss Y.W.C.A.																				J								
SHEILDS, Mrs.												J																
SHEPPARD, Mrs. 11404 91 Street																					J							
SHIELDS, William 25 Whyte Ave, opposite P.O. (1912) 206 Empress Blk, Jasper Ave (1913)										P	J																	
SHORTEL, Mrs. Edmonton		B																										
SHUNK, Luela dressmaker with Mrs. Sophie Henning lives 817 Fraser Ave								H																				
SIEBERT, Florence 1281 126 Street												H																
SILLARS, Catherine lives 11538 95 Street (employee of Malcolm Sillars, tailor)																											H	
SILLARS, M., LADIES' TAILOR Suite 2 Benson Blk															J													
SILVESTER, Madame Sara (Zara) 419 Sutherland St (1912) 1, 348 Namayo Ave (1912) 141 Jasper Ave (1916)										J			H	JBH	H	JB			HT	JH	HT	H	HT			HT	HT	

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
SILVESTER, Madame Sara (Zara) 1. 10222 Jasper Ave (1919) 6. 10141 Jasper Ave (1921) 4. 10521 Jasper Ave (1928)																												
SIMMONS, Beatrice 10238 Jasper Avenue														H														
SIMPSON, W. C. 8713 113 Ave (Residence)																T												
SINGER SEWING MACHINE COMPANY 10046 102 Street																										JB		
SLATER, Marie tailoress with JL Tip & Co lives 56 St at 118 & 119 Ave																		H										
SMITH, Florence 474 8th Avenue NE, Edm S								H			H																	
SMITH, Jennie dressmaker with E. MacKinnon lives Edm South								H																				
SMITH, Mary 10043 107 Street														H														
SMITH, May 10821 83 Avenue															H													
SMITH, Miss Hudson's Bay Store, 3rd & Jasper		P																										
SMITH, Miss Next to Johnstone Walker's				B																								

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
SMITH, Miss 19230 100 Street													J															
SMITH, Miss 204 Lockerbie Block														J														
SMITH, Miss 305 Lockerbie Blk (Residence)																			T									
SMITH, Miss A. M. Hudson's Bay Co lives 1-2 Engler Blk								H																				
SMITH, Miss Regina 306 Lockerbie Blk (Residence)																			T									
SMITH, Mrs. 11721 83 Street																	J											
SMITH, Mrs. Florence 11722 95 Street																					H	H	H	H				
SMITH, Mrs. Louise 10174 108 Street																										H		
SMITH, Mrs. Marg 14415 Stony Plain Road																											H	
SMITH, Mrs. Marie 10337 95 Street																											J	
SNOW FLAKE LAUNDRY																			J									
SNOW'S SCHOOL OF DRESSMAKING 11227 64 Street																											J	

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
SOBKOW, Anna dressmaker with Mrs. Pearl Kirkham lives 12101 86 Street																												H
SORENSON, Mrs. 10007 109 Street																						J						
SPARKS, Annie E. 672 Namayo Avenue 112 Gibson Block										H		H																
SPECIALTY DRESSMAKING COMPANY 10340 Whyte Ave .. Westminster Ladies' College Blk																						H	H					
SPOONER, Elizabeth 39 Wilson										H																		
ST JOHN, Mrs. T. W. Forbes-Taylor Co boards 727 8th Street								H																				
STANDLEY, Frances lives 11837 86 Street																												H
STANLEY & GRIFFITHS 10154 Whyte Avenue																	J											
STANLEY, Mrs. 10521 102 Avenue																												J
STANLEY, Mrs. Isabel M. 10752 92 Street																							H					

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
STATZ, W. C. 9824 88 Avenue (Residence)																			T									
STAUTH, Miss Gilman Blk 1st St 2nd floor Revillon Bros		J		J																								
STEELE, John 12206 90 St (Residence)																			T									
STEEVES, Miss 3-4 McCauley										B																		
STERES, Miss S.									J																			
STERLING, Miss 162 Syndicate Ave S					J																							
STERLINGS, Miss 550 Jasper East					J																							
STIRLING, Lily 13 Boyle Street							H																					
STOCKING, Cora 10406 Syndicate Avenue													H															
STOESER, Miss Anna F. 67 McLean Blk (Residence)																T												
STRASBERGER, Louisa 9643 110A Avenue																							H					
STREM, Miss Angela STREM FRENCH DRESSMAKING PARLORS													J	JH	JH	J	JHT		JT	JT	JT							

NAME AND ADDRESS	03, 04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
STREM, Miss Angela 10649 Jasper Ave (1916) 10455 Jasper Ave (1921)																											
STROUD, Mrs. 10533 Jasper, 3 Wellington Blk																	J	J									
SULLIVAN, Marg Duggan Blk, Whyte Ave					H																						
SUMMERILL, Mrs. L. seamstress Royal Alexander Hospital lives 11713 79 Street																											H
SUTHERLAND, Christina seamstress Royal Alexander Hospital lives 11712 86 Street																											H
SUTHERLAND, Marg 10221 95 Street																H	H		H	H	H	H	H	H			
SWANSON, Elizabeth 9358 118 Avenue																								H			
SWINDELL, M. Rear, 85 3rd Ave NW, Edm S									H																		
SWINDELL, S. Rear, 85 3rd Ave NW, Edm S									H																		
T. H. COMPANY, TAILOR 10162 97 Street																						B					

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
TANDREW W 8th St, N Jasper Ave 2nd House					J																							
TANGEE, Mrs.											J																	
TAYLER, Miss 639 6th Street (Miss Fenton's)					B																							
TAYLOR, Maria 622 6th Street						H																						
TAYLOR, Miss 639 6th Street W					J																							
TAYLOR, Wyatt 355 95A Street												H																
TEMPLETON, Miss C. seamstress Royal Alexander Hospital lives same																												H
THOMAS, Emily 12024 91 St (1922) 23-24 9964 Jasper																				JO	O	O	O	O	HO	HO	HO	HO
THOMPSON, Helen E lives 1040 1st Street								H																				
THOMPSON, Matilda lives 10539 83 Avenue																		H										
THOMPSON, Mrs. 10212 105 Street																	J											

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THOMPSON, Mrs. A. 139 Morris										H																		
THOMPSON, George 10005 85 Avenue																				T								
THOMPSON'S LADIES' WEAR																	J											
THORNE, Mrs. H. 10523 125 Street																		J										
TILLIE, Edith dressmaker with Jean Gemmell lives 10623 100 Avenue																		H										
TOGERMAN, Mrs. 10330 83 Street																J												
TOOMBS, Miss Lucy 10034 110 Street												J		JH														
TORGENSON, Mrs. 1151 89 Avenue																											J	
TORGERSON, Mrs. O. 10707 82 Avenue																				T							J	
TOUPIN, Amandine 10911 Kinistino													H															
TOURNIER, Mrs. Next to Red Cross Drug Store 1st St N of Jasper Ave			BH	H																								

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TROWER, Mrs. R. 10624 Jasper Avenue 9840 102 St (1925)														J									HT					
TRUDEAU CLEANING & DYE WORKS 10151 109 Street																			J				T		T	JT	J	
TUCKER, Miss M. 47 Alberta Block								H																				
TUCKER, Nancy Forbes-Talyor Co boards 37 Alberta Blk								H																				
TURKMAN, Mrs. 10657 Jasper Avenue																J												
TURNER, Annie 541 8th Street								H																				
TURNER, J. S. 10637 128 St (Residence)																				T								
TURNER, Robert 942 Fraser Ave (Residence)												T																
UHRYN, Mrs. N. 10203 Jasper Avenue	H															I												H
UHRICH, Alfa lives 351 Namayo Ave								H																				
VACHON, Mrs. Suite 7-8 Cattlstock Blk												B																

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
VAIL, A. M. 1238 3rd St (Residence)												T																
VAILLANCOURT, Marie Y.W.C.A.																									J			
VAN CAMP, B. 618 Government Ave (Residence)												T																
VANCE, Miss Ethel lives 218 Syndicate (1910) 604 95A Street (1912)								H		H		H		J														
VAUGHN, Nora dressmaker with Mrs. Pearl Kirkham (1930) lives 7403 81 Street																										H		H
VENDETTE, Adeliska 211, 10357 Jasper Ave 10049 107 St (Residence)																									H	H	H	
VENDETTE, Mrs. A. 10049 107 St (Residence)																		T	T									
VITON, Mrs. 9th St & Kinistino Ave			B																									
VIVASH, Louisa Hudson's Bay Co lives Strathcona								H																				
VOGUE DRESS SHOP																							T					
W., Mrs. Shack 904 Foot 5th Str S								J																				

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WAGNER, Anton 3 New Chambers Bldg Jasper Ave 10238 Jasper Ave													BH	JH														
WAGNER, Fred 10322 96 Street		H																				H						
WAITE, Mrs. Anna M. 9122 80 Ave (Residence)																				H								H
WALDIE, Ethel lives 1425 1st Street								H																				
WALKER, Mrs. 1119 Jasper Ave W						H																						
WALL, Sarah E. boards 473 8th Street								H																				
WALSH, Mrs. Room 5 Peerless Rooms												J																
WALTON, Mrs. Fanny E. 537 4th Avenue NE, Edw S householder 10717 98 St (1920)										H				H				H										
WATKINSON, Miss 683 Jasper Avenue								J																				
WATT, Winnie employee of Emily Thomas lives 11249 93 Street																												H
WEBB, Miss Pauline Millinery, 8th & Jasper 445 Namayo Avenue (1912)								B		H																		

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
WEBB, Miss Pauline Millinery, 8th & Jasper 445 Namayo Avenue (1912)								B		H																		
WEBSDALE, Laura M. lives 9934 85 Avenue																		H										
WEBSTER, Gladys lives 12302 83 Street																		H			H							
WEBSTER, Mrs. H. A. 10168 106 Street																			J	JT								
WELSH, Edith 826 Namayo						H																						
WHELAN, P. 9527 105 St (Residence)																T												
WHITE, Mrs. 572 Jasper Ave W									J																			
WHITEHOUSE, H. 10708 Whyte Ave (Residence)																		T										
WHITEMARSH, Mrs. Arsina 320 McDougall Avenue									H																			
WHITMAN, Mrs. Louie A. 13 Hulbert Block 14-15 Zella Apts. (1914)											H	H																
WHITTAKER, Mrs. 559 Sutherland Street					J																							
WHITWORTH, Mrs.			B																									

NAME AND ADDRESS	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
WIESE, Herman 10250 95 St (Residence)																			T									
WILCOX, Elsie 204, 10626 Jasper Avenue																				HT								
WILLIAMS, A. J. 11128 88 Ave (Residence)														T														
WILLIAMSON, R. T. 9838 106 St (Residence)																T												
WILSON, F. C. B. 10330 Wadhurst Rd (Residence)																		T										
WILSON, John 11220 97 St (Residence)																			T									
WILSON, Misses 4 Hanna Blk opposite Alberta Co (1907) McMullen Blk opposite Somerville's (1908)					J	J																						
WILSON, Mrs. 2nd Avenue NE 5th St Edm S																												
WILSON, Mrs. Edward 811 Fraser Ave (Residence)									T																			
WILSON, Mrs. S. 745 Namayo Avenue											H																	
WILTSIE, Miss A. 549 5th Street					H																							

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WOODLAND, E. G. 9713 76 Ave (Residence)																					T							
WOODLAND, Miss 9825 87 Avenue																												
WOODLAND, Mrs. J. J. 9825 87 Ave (Residence)																		T	T									
WORLD, Miss Beverly P. G. Edmonton												J																
WRIGHT, Annie 10044 87 Avenue														H	H													
WRIGHT, Mrs. Ella lives 12232 90 Street																		H										
WRIGHT, Mrs. J. B. 11832 87 Ave (Residence)																				T								
WRIGHT, Nellie talloress with Halman & Sapera lives 12232 90 Street																		H										
YEATES, Frank Over J. H. Morris, Jasper W														J														
YULE, A. S. 10222 Jasper Avenue																					H	H						
ZUEST, Mrs. A. 9618 103 Avenue																										J		